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An Analysis Of The Privileged Syntactic Argument In Three Sayula Popaluca Texts

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVILEGED SYNTACTIC ARGUMENT IN THREE SAYULA POPALUCA TEXTS

by

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This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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Signature Corey Edward Havlicek

Date 05/05/2021

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
4	fourth person
A	set A
ACTIONRELATOR	action relator
APPL	applicative
ASSOC	associative
AUG	augmentative
B	set B
C	set C
CAUS	causative
COMPL	completive
COMPLZ	complementizer
COND	conditional
CONTR	contrastive
DEF	definite
DEFV	definitive
DEIC	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DUR	durative
EXCL	exclusive

HAB	habitual
IMPV	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INCOMPL	incompletive
IRR	irrealis
LIMIT	limitational
LOC	locative
MED	medial
NEG	negation, negative
OBJ	object
PFV1	perfective1
PFV2	perfective2
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRON	pronoun
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
PTCP	participle
QUOT	quotative
REF	referent
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REPET	repetitive
SBJ	subject
SG	singular
UNCERTAIN	uncertain, epistemic modal
VBZR	verbalizer

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ABSTRACT

Sayula Popoluca is a Mixe-Zoquean language spoken in the Mexican state of Veracruz. The data in this thesis was collected by Lawrence Clark and published in Clark (1961). Using Role and Reference Grammar as described in Van Valin (2005), I show that Sayula Popoluca marks the Privileged Syntactic Argument (PSA) in a clause based upon whether it is the single argument of an intransitive verb (S), the actor of a transitive verb, or the undergoer of a transitive verb. It does this through an increasing markedness in the combination of pronominal prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes, with S being the least marked, followed by the actor of a transitive verb, and the undergoer of a transitive verb is most marked. Sayula Popoluca has two patterns of inflections based upon a feature called dependency. The increased markedness applies to both dependencies. I also discuss how valency-changing affixes in Sayula Popoluca can change the PSA. This change in PSA is shown in the combination of pronominal prefix and aspect/mood suffix that a verb takes. Finally, I show how Sayula Popoluca applies PSA selection to certain complex clauses.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis analyzes a part of the verbal inflectional morphology in Sayula Popoluca, a Mixe-Zoquean language spoken in the Mexican state of Veracruz. In Sayula Popoluca, there are three sets of pronominal prefixes and two sets of aspect/mood suffixes, as shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. Three sets of person prefixes

Set A*		**Set B****		**Set C*****	
tʉ-	1.excl	tʉ-	1.excl	tʉ-	1.excl
		tʉn-	1.excl.3	tʉš-	1.excl.3
na-	1.incl	na-	1.incl	naš-	1.incl.3
mi-	2	in-	2	iš-	2.1
				iš-	2.3
Ø-	3	i-	3	igui-	3.4

*Used for independent intransitive verbs
**Used for independent transitive verbs with actor as the PSA and dependent intransitive verbs
***Used for independent transitive verbs with undergoer as the PSA and dependent transitive verbs

Table 2. Two sets of aspect/mood suffixes

	Set A*	**Set B****
Completive	-w, -Ø/-u, -wu	-j
Incompletive	-p	-Ø
Irrealis	-aj/-am	-wa'n

*Used for independent verbs and dependent transitive verbs with undergoer as the PSA
**Used for dependent verbs when they are intransitive or transitive with actor as the PSA

I claim that Sayula Popoluca marks the privileged syntactic argument (PSA) on the verb using a combination of these two sets of affixes. Sayula Popoluca neutralizes the difference between the actor and the undergoer of the verb in intransitive sentences. The PSA marked on the verb will either be the single actor of an intransitive verb (S), the actor of a transitive verb, or the undergoer of a transitive verb. Transitivity of a verb follows from the number of macrorole arguments in the semantic representation of the core. The actor-undergoer distinction is neutralized in intransitive verbs. Choosing between actor of a transitive verb or undergoer of a transitive verb follows from the interaction of Role and Reference Grammar's PSA selection hierarchy and Sayula Popoluca's person hierarchy.

I also claim valency changing affixes in Sayula Popoluca shift the PSA marked on the verb to or from S. This follows from these affixes either adding or removing a direct core argument from the semantic representation of the core. I show this by analyzing five valency changing processes and comparing the changes in the semantic representation of the core with changes in the morphology of the verb.

This thesis uses Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) as described in Van Valin (2005) to analyze three Sayula Popoluca texts. Role and Reference Grammar is a grammatical theory which links semantics, which are universal, with syntax, which is language specific. In this thesis, I begin my analysis with semantics and then show how Sayula Popoluca marks the privileged syntactic argument on the verb, following the principles of RRG.

1.1 Overview of Thesis

This thesis contains six chapters. Chapter 1 briefly discusses linguistic and geographic information about Sayula Popoluca. Chapter 2 discusses previous research on Sayula Popoluca, focusing on the work done by Lawrence Clark before discussing other contributions. Chapter 3 provides an introduction to the three texts used as data for this thesis. Chapter 4 gives a brief overview of RRG. Then, Chapter 5 presents an RRG analysis of transitivity marked on the verb, specifically in the form of the PSA. Transitivity in Sayula Popoluca is determined by the semantics of the verb. The actor-undergoer distinction is neutralized for intransitive verbs. PSA selection can be seen in the combination of the

pronominal prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes on the verb. Chapter 5 also discusses affixes whose semantics change the transitivity and how that changes the PSA selection. My analysis focuses primarily on simple clauses before touching upon complex clauses. Finally, Chapter 6 presents my conclusions and mentions questions for further research.

1.2 About Sayula Popoluca

Sayula Popoluca (ISO 693-3 code [pos]) is spoken in and around the town of Sayula de Alemán, in the state of Veracruz, Mexico. shows the location of Sayula de Alemán within the state of Veracruz.[1]

Figure 1. Location of Sayula de Alemán in the state of Veracruz[2]

Most recent data says that about 940 people speak Sayula Popoluca (INALI 2016). Presently, the language status is threatened (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2020). Some of the literature also refers to Sayula Popoluca as Sayultec (cf. Romero Méndez 2009 and Wichmann 1995a) or Sayulteco (cf. Tatsumi 2013). The people refer to themselves as *Tɯmay Ajw* (Tatsumi 2013).

Sayula Popoluca belongs to the Mixe-Zoquean language family. Its place in the Mixe-Zoquean family is shown in Figure 2.

[1] Popolucan languages should not be confused with Popolocan languages, which are part of the Oto-Manguean language family. The names Popoluca and Popoloca are derived from a Nahuatl term meaning 'babble' (SIL Mexico 2020).

[2] Public Domain https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mexico_Veracruz_Sayula_location_map.svg, accessed Oct. 20,2020

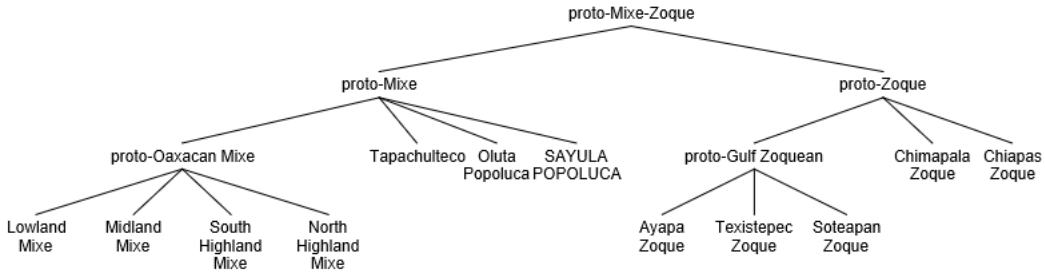


Figure 2. Mixe-Zoquean language family tree (Wichmann 1995a:10)

As shown in Figure 2, Sayula Popoluca is part of the Mixe branch of the language family, but is distinct from the Oaxacan Mixe varieties (Wichmann 1995a). Brown, Beck, et al. (2011) argue that Mixe-Zoquean language family is itself part of a larger Totozoquean language family with Totonacan languages, based upon a phonological analysis of cognate sets. There is not much information about Mixe-Zoquean languages in general or Sayula Popoluca specifically prior to the Spanish Conquest. Campbell and Kaufman (1976) have argued that the Olmecs may have been the ancestors of Mixe-Zoquean speakers.

CHAPTER 2

Previous Research

In this chapter I present work done by the linguists who have contributed to the study of Sayula Popoluca. I briefly discuss their analyses and compare them to my analysis.

2.1 Lawrence Clark's Contribution

Much of the early work in Sayula Popoluca was done by Lawrence Clark of SIL International. He worked in Mexico from 1954-1979 (Clark 2020). Alongside his wife, Nancy, he worked among the Sayula Popoluca, and in the neighboring Oluta Popoluca community.[1] He produced three books and several articles on Sayula Popoluca, and he worked on a New Testament translation in the language, which was published in 1969 (Clark and Clark 1969). After his return to the United States, Clark continued to publish his research on both varieties of Popoluca that he studied. Clark's work remains a foundational source of information about the language.

Clark operated from a tagmemic framework (Clark 1962). He has shown that certain morphemes can change the transitivity on the verb (Clark 1983:25). Clark states, "No [Sayula Popoluca] verb root or stem is transitive in itself. Transitivity is determined by the person marker set that occur on the verb" (Clark 1983:1). I understand this to mean that Clark believed no verb in Sayula Popoluca is inherently semantically transitive or intransitive. That is, he claims a verb becomes transitive or intransitive when the person markers are put on the verb. Therefore, the affixes determine the transitivity. In contrast, Role and Reference Grammar, as I show in Chapter 4, says that transitivity is built into the lexical entry of the verb and determines which group of suffixes the verb takes (Van Valin 2005:64). RRG accounts for non-referential arguments on activity verbs with an activity-active accomplishment alternation (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:112). That is, turning the

[1] He produced an Oluta Popoluca-Spanish bilingual dictionary (Clark 1981).

non-referential argument on an activity verb into a referential argument changes the verb's *aktionsart* to active accomplishment. As such, Role and Reference Grammar and Clark's tagmemic approach have a different understanding of transitivity.

2.2 Other Contributions

Tomoko Tatsumi wrote her Master's thesis on inversion and obviation in Sayula Popoluca. It is written in Japanese, but parts of it have been condensed down to an article for the journal *Gengo Kenkyuu* (Tatsumi 2013). Using Clark's data, Tatsumi also argues that Sayula Popoluca has an inverse system (Tatsumi 2013). She claims that the morpheme *s̈-* following the person marker indicates the inverse (Tatsumi 2013:88-89).[2] For example, the first person inclusive *na=* is direct, while *na=s̈-* is inverse. Likewise, she says the person marker *igui=* indicates an inverse relationship between third person proximate and third person distal Tatsumi (2013). However, in Section 5.2 I offer an alternative analysis of this phenomenon using Role and Reference Grammar. The terms "inverse" and "direct" are helpful when discussing Sayula Popoluca pronominal prefixes, so I borrow them in this thesis.

Richard Rhodes has also done fieldwork on Sayula Popoluca. He has presented several papers on the language at the Conference of American Indian Studies from 1996 to 2006. He also has a forthcoming grammar of Sayula Popoluca.[3] In Rhodes (1998), he discusses the loss of passive in Sayula Popoluca. In that paper, he mentions person hierarchy in the language. Like Tatsumi, he glosses the morpheme *s̈-* following the pronominal prefix as the inverse.

[2] Tatsumi (2013) is an adaptation of Tatsumi's M.A. thesis Tatsumi (2011). The latter is written in Japanese, a langauge which I am unable to read. In personal communication, I asked Tatsumi about the thesis and was referred to Tatsumi (2013). I recognize the possibility that there may be discussion in Tatsumi (2011) which might address some of my comments on Tatsumi (2013). However, as the thesis is inaccessible to me, I apologize in advance if my discussion of her work on the inverse in Sayula Popoluca is not adequately represented here.

Tatsumi uses a slightly different orthography than me. To reduce confusion, for the present discussion I have converted her orthography to the one I'm using.

Note that Tatsumi analyzes person markers as clitics, while I do not. In this thesis, they are only written as clitics when describing Tatsumi's analysis.

[3] Dr. Rhodes was kind to share a draft of his phonology chapter in response to a question I had.

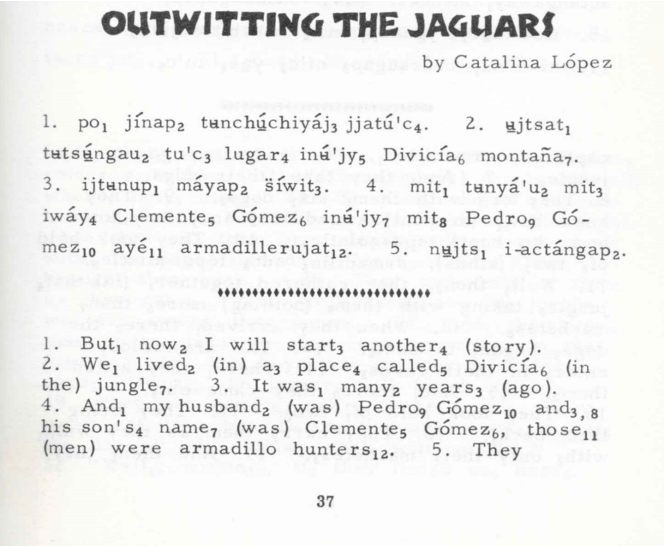
CHAPTER 3

Introduction to the Texts

The three texts examined in this thesis come from Clark (1961). Clark collected each of the three texts and each one has a different author: Carlos Rofino (age 35), Panucio Isodoro (age 25) and Catalina López (age 65). Two texts were recorded on magnetic tape and later transcribed, while "Candle Lighting" was taken down by dictation (Clark 1961:iv).

From the texts, one can see there is some variance in pronunciation in places between the speakers. For example, in "Outwitting the Jaguar", Catalina López uses the word *mit* ‘and/with’. Carlos Rofino does the same in "Noah and the Ark". However, Panucio Isodoro uses *m~~u~~ut* for ‘and/with’ in "Candle Lighting". Carlos Rofino also borrows more from Spanish than the other speakers do.

Clark's method of presenting each story consisted of writing the Sayula Popoluca text at the top half of the page and the English free translation at the bottom of the page, as seen in Figure 3.



OUTWITTING THE JAGUARS

by Catalina López

1. po$_1$ jínap$_2$ tʉnchúchiyáj$_3$ jjatú'c$_4$. 2. ʉjtsat$_1$ tʉtsʉ́ngau$_2$ tu'c$_3$ lugar$_4$ inʉ́'jy$_5$ Divicía$_6$ montaña$_7$. 3. ijtʉnup$_1$ máyap$_2$ šíwit$_3$. 4. mit$_1$ tʉnyá'u$_2$ mit$_3$ iwáy$_4$ Clemente$_5$ Gómez$_6$ inʉ́'jy$_7$ mit$_8$ Pedro$_9$ Gómez$_{10}$ ayé$_{11}$ armadillerujat$_{12}$. 5. nʉjts$_1$ i-actángap$_2$.

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦

1. But$_1$ now$_2$ I will start$_3$ another$_4$ (story).
2. We$_1$ lived$_2$ (in) a$_3$ place$_4$ called$_5$ Divicía$_6$ (in the) jungle$_7$. 3. It was$_1$ many$_2$ years$_3$ (ago).
4. And$_1$ my husband$_2$ (was) Pedro$_9$ Gómez$_{10}$ and$_{3,8}$ his son's$_4$ name$_7$ (was) Clemente$_5$ Gómez$_6$, those$_{11}$ (men) were armadillo hunters$_{12}$. 5. They

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Figure 3. Clark's layout of the text

He assigned each Sayula Popoluca sentence a number and gave its English free translation a corresponding number. Likewise, he then numbered each word in a given Sayula Popoluca sentence and then gave a corresponding number to its English free translation counterpart.

As the texts were not interlinearized nor presented with morphological analysis, my first step was to prepare an interlinearization, which I did using FLEx. I used the glossary and grammar sections in the back of Clark (1961) as a starting point, and then also consulted Clark and Clark (1960) and Clark (1983). Using these sources and the vocabulary, grammar, and morphophonemic rules Clark described in Clark (1961), I created the morpheme-by-morpheme presentation. The second line of the presentation shows morpheme breaks and presents the basic form of each morpheme, insofar as that is determined from Clark's analysis. For example, the verb *mimp* in the baseline of the text was determined to be the verb *min* 'come' and this is how it is presented on the second line. I also applied the null pronominal prefix Ø- and displayed the aspect/mood suffix *-p*. This /n/ in *min* 'come' undergoes assimilation with /p/. There are other occurrences of assimilation, metathesis, dissimilation, and reduction in Sayula Popoluca that are "undone" between the first line and the second line. In the third line glosses of the individual morphemes are given.

Each of Clark's books used a different orthography, with Clark and Clark (1960) and Clark (1961) being the most similar to each other. The New Testament translation utilizes a similar orthography (Clark and Clark 1969). I have chosen to use an orthography that most closely resembles Clark (1961). However, whereas Clark used an underlined vowel to represent a long vowel, I simply use a double vowel for ease of typing and reading.

As I examined the texts to create my interlinear gloss and compared a given morpheme's usage throughout the three texts, I discovered I did not always agree with Clark's grammatical labels. Therefore, I have changed them where necessary. For example, I changed Clark's future tense suffix label to irrealis, because not every occurrence of the suffixes was a future usage, as I show in Section 5.2.2. The label "irrealis" fit better and corresponded with current use of Mixe-Zoquean aspect/mood labels.[1] In cases of low-frequency affixes such as *-cadaac* 'extr.', and *-na* 'repet.', I defer to Clark's labels if there is insufficient reason not to use them.

After creating an interlinear gloss for each text, I went back and created a new English free translation based on the interlinear gloss. At times, Clark's own free translation was grammatical but unnatural English so I replaced it. Creating an interlinear gloss allowed me to smooth out the free translation. There are other times in the texts where Clark's free translation was natural enough, so I retained it. There were also three occasions where I believe the original text had a typo. I did not arrive at this determination lightly. I analyzed a given morpheme against the available options for words in the glossary and Clark and Clark (1960), and also against the inventory of morphemes listed in Clark's three books. I also attempted to apply relevant morphophonemic rules that Clark describes. After all of that, if I did not have a valid morpheme, I considered typographical errors. If a correction of a plausible typo could both create a valid morpheme and that new morpheme could account for Clark's own free translation, then I would correct the text as I saw fit. I have noted these changes in the texts and included my justification.

[1] See use of term ‘irrealis’ in Zavala (2000), Romero Méndez (2009:304), and Suslak (2010).

CHAPTER 4

Role and Reference Grammar

In this chapter, I give a brief overview of RRG, focusing on aspects that are relevant to this thesis. My understanding of the theory is largely informed by Van Valin (2005), and supplemented by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997), though others have contributed to the theory. First, I start with syntax and discuss the layered structure of the clause. Then I turn to semantics and discuss lexical representation, macroroles, and transitivity. Next, I discuss the RRG concept of the Privileged Syntactic Argument. Finally, I discuss complex sentences in RRG.

RRG is a theory that incorporates semantics, pragmatics, and syntax into its understanding of grammar, and does not operate from a purely syntactic starting point. RRG asserts, among other things, that semantic roles are more universal, while syntax tends to be more language specific, and then employs what it calls the linking algorithm to links them together (Van Valin 2005:129). The lexicon is one of the starting points of RRG, as I discuss in Section 4.2.

4.1 The Layered Construction

RRG describes a given clause in terms of what it calls "the layered structure of the clause" (Van Valin 2005:4). This means that a given clause can be broken down into particular layers or parts, as shown in Figures 4 and 5.

Figure 4. Universal oppositions underlying clause structure (Van Valin 2005:4)

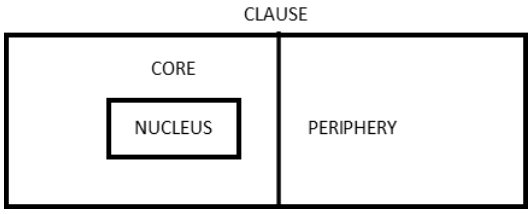

Figure 5. Components of the layered structure of the clause (Van Valin 2005:4)

These different layers are syntactic units which are semantically defined. The basic unit is the nucleus. The nucleus consists of the predicate of the clause. Typically, this is the verb, but other categories such as predicate nominals and predicate adjectives are also considered to be the nucleus. Building upward, the core is the next layer. The core consists of the predicate and the arguments of the predicate, which are called core arguments. Core arguments are those arguments which appear in the semantic representation of the predicate. The clause, then, is defined as the core plus the periphery. The periphery consists of the non-arguments of the predicate. In the sentence *John ate his lunch in the cafeteria*, the phrase *in the cafeteria* is in the periphery because it is a non-argument of the predicate.

In addition to the categories above, a given language has operators.[1] Operators are the grammatical features, such as tense, negation, and evidentiality, which modify the layered construction (Van Valin 2005:8). Each layer of the layered structure — the nucleus, the core, and the clause — has its own operators, as shown in Table 3.

[1] This section refers to syntactic operators. RRG also uses the term 'operator' to describe a semantic process, which I discuss in Section 4.2.

Table 3. Operators in the layered construction of the clause (Van Valin 2005:9)

Nuclear operators	Aspect
	Negation
	Event Directionals
Core operators	Participant Directionals
	Event quantification
	Modality
	Internal negation
Clausal operators	Status
	Tense
	Evidentials
	Illocutionary force

These operators modify the same layer in any given language. For example, aspect is a nuclear operator and it always modifies the nucleus. Illocutionary force is always a clausal operator.

Returning to the layered construction, there are some pragmatically defined units in RRG: the pre-core/post-core slot (PrCS/PoCS, respectively), and the pre-/post-detached position (PrDP/PoDP, respectively). The pre-core slot is part of the clause, but occurs outside the core. Question words and fronted elements occur in the pre-core slot. Some verb-final languages may have a post-core slot instead of a pre-core slot. The pre-detached position contains sentence initial elements, that are separated by a pause, such as adverbs (Van Valin 2005:6). The post-detached position occurs in the sentence after the clause and has background or explanatory information. There is often a pronoun in the core referring to the PoDP when it occurs as a semantic argument of the verb (Van Valin 2005:6).

In RRG, the layered construction of the clause can be diagrammed, with the predicate and arguments shown in the constituent projection above and operators shown in the operator projection below. Figure 6 shows a template of the constituent and operator projections. The constituent projection is the tree above the diagrammed sentence. The operator projection occurs below it.

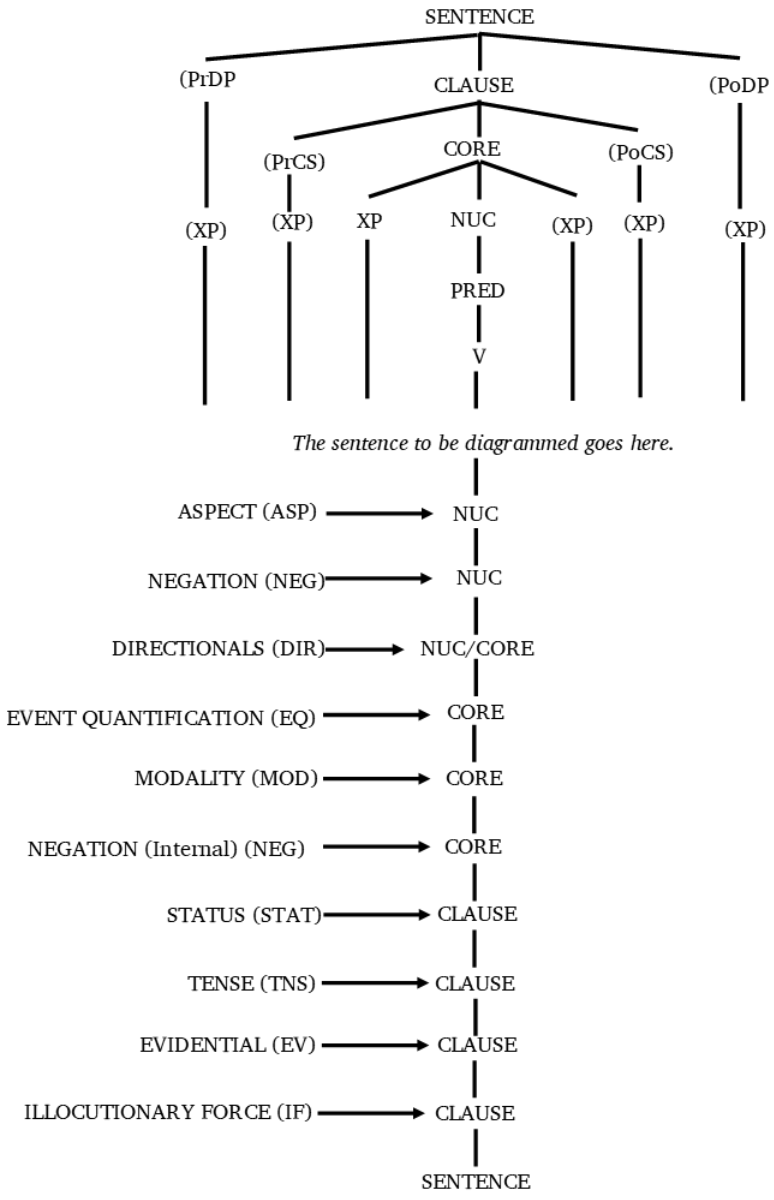

Figure 6. Template of constituent and operator projections

The constituent projection in Figure 6 shows how the units in the layered construction of a given clause relate to each other. The operator projection shows which operators may be present in a sentence and what they modify.

4.2 Semantics-based Transitivity

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the lexicon is one of the starting points in RRG. Therefore the semantic representation of the verb is significant to an RRG analysis. The semantic representation of a sentence is based upon the logical structure of the predicator. This representation is determined by the *Akionsart* of the verb. Vendler (1967) proposed four *Aktionsart* classes (states, achievements, accomplishments, and activities) and Smith (1997) added semelfactive. RRG rounds these out with active accomplishments (Van Valin 2005:33). These are activities that have reached an end. Each of the *Aktionsarten* has a causative counterpart (Van Valin 2005:34).

The logical structures of states are represented as predicates with their argument(s), e.g. **see'** (x, y), where x and y represent the two arguments. X is the actor, and y is the undergoer.[2] For example, *Bob sees John* would have the semantic representation **see'** (Bob, John). An example of a one argument stative verb is **tired'** (x), or **tired'** (John) for *John is tired*. All activity verbs incorporate **do'**, as in **do'** (x [**kiss'** (x, y)]). The semantic representation of *John kissed Judy* is **do'** (John [**kiss'** (John, Judy)]). The other *Aktionsarten* add an operator[3] to one of these formulas, depending upon whether the predicate is an activity predicate or a stative predicate. For example, an achievement has the operator INGR for 'ingressive', and the logical structure would be represented as either INGR **predicate'** (x, y) or INGR **do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x, y)]). The operator for accomplishments is BECOME. Semelfactives use SEML. Active accomplishments are represented as **do'** (x [**predicate1'** (x, (y))]) & INGR **predicate2'** (z, x) or (y). The representation of causatives consists of two logical structures of any type with the operator CAUSE between them. (Van Valin 2005:46-47) For example, *The sun melted the snow* would be represented as [**do'** (sun, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **melted'** (ice)].[4]

[2] Here I will clarify some terms. Logical structure refers to the representation of the predicate and its arguments. It is the representation with the variables. The semantic representation of a clause uses the logical structure and applies the arguments of the specific clause to the variables in the logical structure.

[3] Not to be confused with syntactic operators. cf. Section 4.1

[4] In the semantic representation of causative constructions, the part to the left of CAUSE represents the actor doing an unspecified activity (Van Valin 2005:47). As such, the second argument in that part of the semantic representation is Ø. In this case, the sun is doing an unspecified activity which causes the snow to melt.

Macroroles are another important concept in the semantic side of RRG. Macroroles are "generalized semantic roles" (Van Valin 2005:60) and they appear in the core. There are two macroroles in RRG: the actor and the undergoer. These macrorole arguments can be identified in all languages. Van Valin further defines the two macroroles thus: "[T]he actor is the most agent-like argument, while the undergoer is the most patient-like." (Van Valin 2005:60). In the sentence *John kissed Judy*, *John* is the actor and *Judy* is the undergoer. In the semantic representations above, the actor is typically the single argument of an activity predicate or the first argument of a two argument predicate. The undergoer is typically the single argument of a stative predicate or the second argument of a two argument predicate. *John* is an actor in *John ran*, and *balloon* is an undergoer in *The balloon popped*. There will never be more than two macroroles. All languages allow for two core arguments arguments, but not all languages allow for three core arguments (Van Valin 2005:65). As such, there cannot be a universal third macrorole argument. While some clauses have three direct core arguments, such as *John gave Bob the book*, only two of those arguments are macrorole arguments; the other is a non-macrorole argument.

In linking semantics to syntax, the completeness constraint states that "all of the arguments explicitly specified in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized syntactically in the sentence, and all of the referring expressions in the syntactic representation of a sentence must be linked to an argument position in a logical structure in the semantic representation of the sentence." (Van Valin 2005:129-130). Additionally, the syntactic template selection principle specifies that "the number of syntactic slots for arguments and argument adjuncts within the core is equal to the number of distinct specified argument positions in the semantic representation of the core" (Van Valin 2005:130). The syntactic template selection principle also allows for language-specific qualifications. In other words, the number of arguments in a semantic representation needs to match the number of core arguments in the actual realized sentence. This is pretty straightforward, and most sentences follow this principle.

Macrorole transitivity (or M-transitivity) refers to the number of macrorole arguments in the core. A verb with a zero macrorole number is atransitive, a verb with one macrorole is intransitive, and a verb with two macroroles is transitive. Non-macrorole arguments,

such as *Bob* in *John gave the book to Bob* have no bearing on M-transitivity. When discussing transitivity, I am referring to M-transitivity, unless otherwise noted. By contrast, syntactic valence (or S-transitivity), like semantic valence, refers to the number of direct core arguments, which can be up to three.[5] This is what is pre-theoretically understood when we discuss transitivity. As seen in Table 4 below, M-transitivity is equal to or less than S-transitivity.

Table 4. Macrorole number and transitivity (Van Valin 2005:64)

	Semantic valence	**Macrorole number**	**M-transitivity**
snow	0	0	Atransitive
die	1	1	Intransitive
drink [activity]	1 or 2	1	Intransitive
drink [act. accompl]	2	2	Transitive
kill	2	2	Transitive
set	3	2	Transitive
send	3	2	Transitive

Note that a macrorole number of 0 means the verb is atransitive. A verb with a 1 macrorole number is intransitive. A macrorole number of 2 means the verb is transitive.

Given the completeness constraint, syntactic template selection principle, and the above paragraph on transitivity, one would generally expect a verb with one macrorole to take intransitive morphology, and a verb with two macroroles to take transitive morphology. However, in addition to the principles above, there are features that allow a verb to take a different transitivity. There are certain verbs whose M-transitivity cannot be predicted by the number of arguments on the verb. In such cases, the lexical entry of the verb will include [MR 0], [MR1], or [MR 2] to indicate the verb's M-transitivity. For example, *seem* as in *He seems to be happy* is a propositional attitude verb with two arguments in its logical structure. Its lexical entry is **seem'** (x, y) [MR 0]. However, neither of these arguments can appear as a direct argument in a core headed by *seem* (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:154). There are a couple verb classes whose M-transitivity is not predictable

[5] There is a difference between direct core arguments and oblique core arguments. Consider *John gave Bob the book* vs *John gave the book to Bob*. In the first sentence, *book* is a non-macrorole direct core argument. In the second sentence, *Bob* is a non-macrorole oblique core argument because it is adpositionally marked.

from their semantic representation. Locative verbs with with two arguments typically take intransitive morphology. The semantic representation of the locative verbs is **be-LOC'** (x, y) [MR1]. The sentence *I am at the store* would be **be-LOC'** (store, I) [MR 1]. While this exception occurs in many languages, it is not universal. Likewise, multiple-argument activity verbs with a non-referential second argument only have an actor macrorole, because the second argument does not refer to a specific entity. This occurs in all languages (Van Valin 2005:63). Since it is a universal exception to the rule, it is not necessary to add [MR]. The sentence *John paints pictures* has only one macrorole and is represented as **do'** (John, [**paint'** (John, picture)]), while *John painted the picture* has two macroroles and is represented as **do'** (John, [**paint'** (John, picture)]) & INGR **exist'** (picture). This is because *picture* in the latter sentence refers to a specific entity. The verb *paint* in *John paints the picture* is also an active accomplishment, as opposed to being simply an activity in *John paints pictures*, as we can see from their semantic representations.[6]

The causative is a semantic operator that adds an argument to the core. Specifically, it adds an actor. Consider the sentence *The ice melted. Ice* is the single argument of a stative verb; there is no actor. It is represented semantically as BECOME **melted'** (ice). *The sun melted the ice* adds an actor to the sentence by means of a causative construction. As mentioned above, it is represented as [**do'** (sun, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **melted'** (ice)]. Verbs with the causative will take transitive morphology.

Lexical reflexives indicate that the actor and the undergoer of the verb are the same.[7] As a result, it also detransitivizes the verb by reducing the number of macrorole arguments. Therefore, lexical reflexive verbs take intransitive morphology, as they do in Sayula Popoluca.

The associative adds a participant to the core by saying "X does Y *with Z participant*". In Sayula Popoluca it occurs as a prefix on the verb. As I discuss in Section 5.3.3, in Sayula Popoluca it affects transitivity.

Noun incorporation is the "process of compounding a noun stem with a verb [...] no matter what the syntactic function of the verb is logically" (Sapir 1911:257). Noun

[6] This discussion is not exhaustive. I only discuss those features which are relevant to my data.

[7] RRG also recognizes coreferential reflexives and clitic reflexives, but they do not occur in Sayula Popoluca. Therefore I do not discuss them here.

incorporation involves moving a noun to the verbal nucleus. Noun incorporation is rare in English. *Sightsee* is one such English example (Hall 1956). Compare the constituent projection of *I was seeing the sights* in Figure 7 with *I was sightseeing* in Figure 8.

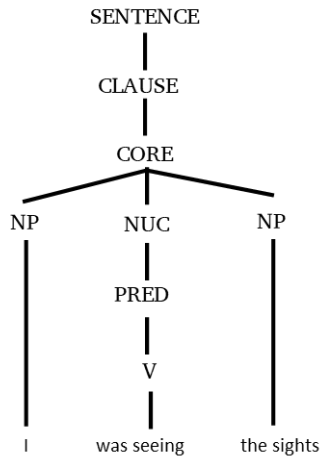

Figure 7. Without noun incorporation

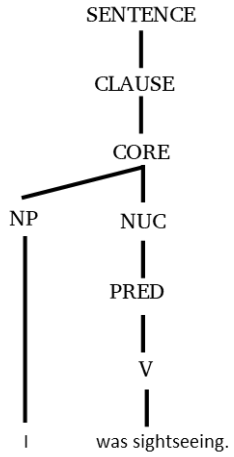

Figure 8. With noun incorporation

Figure 7 is represented semantically as **see'** (I, sights). Figure 8 is represented sematically as **do'** (I, [**sightsee'** (I)]). As I discuss in Section 5.4, noun incorporation in Sayula Popoluca involves moving a macrorole argument from the core to the nucleus, similar to what is shown in Figure 8. As a result, the number of macrorole arguments decreases and the verb is detransitivized.

4.3 Privileged Syntactic Argument

RRG does not use the terms subject, direct object, and indirect object, because they are not universal (Van Valin 2005:115). They are language-specific. Instead, RRG employs the term "privileged syntactic argument" (PSA). The privileged syntactic argument is the only grammatical relation in RRG. Applying RRG's PSA selection principles and case assignment rules renders terms like "subject" and "direct object" unnecessary (Van Valin 2005:115-116). Figure 9 shows the PSA selection hierarchy.

Arg. of DO > 1st arg. of **do'** > 1st arg. of **pred'** (x, y) > 2nd arg. of **pred'** (x, y) > arg. of **pred'** (x)

Figure 9. Privileged syntactic argument selection hierarchy Van Valin (2005:100)

PSA selection is construction-specific. However, using this hierarchy, Van Valin (2005:100) discusses default PSA selection for two morpho-syntactic alignments. He says nominative-accusative systems select the highest ranking direct core argument in terms of the hierarchy as default, while ergative-absolute systems default with the lowest direct core argument in terms of the hierarchy. PSA modulation allows for the non-default argument to be the PSA. As I discuss in Section 5.2, Sayula Popluca has a direct-inverse morpho-syntactic alignment. Therefore, a person hierarchy, which I present in Section 5.2.1 is a further factor for marking the PSA.

There are two types of PSAs: controllers and pivots. Controllers can control various processes. In Sayula Popoluca they trigger verb agreement. Pivots are "the omitted argument in the linked core of a complex sentence" (Van Valin 2005:95). Section 5 discusses the PSA, specifically controllers in Sayula Popoluca.

4.4 Complex Sentences

RRG discusses complex sentences in terms of the nexus and juncture of their linkage. The juncture is the level at which the linkage occurs. There are primarily three juncture options: nuclear, core, or clausal juncture. That is, junctures can occur at each of the

three primary layers of the layered construction. For example, in a core juncture, there are two cores linked to form a single unit. In a nuclear juncture there are two nuclei.

The nexus describes the relationship between the two joined constituents. Traditionally, two options have been described: coordination and subordination. RRG adds a third option: cosubordination. Coordination involves linking two independent units. Subordination links two units, with one of those units embedded within the other. Cosubordination links two units together which appear to be coordinating, but one unit is dependent upon the other for an operator. They are linked together to form a single unit of the same type, as seen in Figure 10. "In a cosubordinate linkage at a given level of juncture, the linked units are dependent upon the matrix unit for expression of one or more of the operators for that level". Consider (1):

(1) a. I should try to finish my work.
b. I should tell Bob to finish his work.

In (1a), two cores are linked together, but both are dependent upon the same core-level operator — the modal *should*. This is shown clearly in comparing the constituent and operator projections of (1) in Figure 10 and Figure 11.

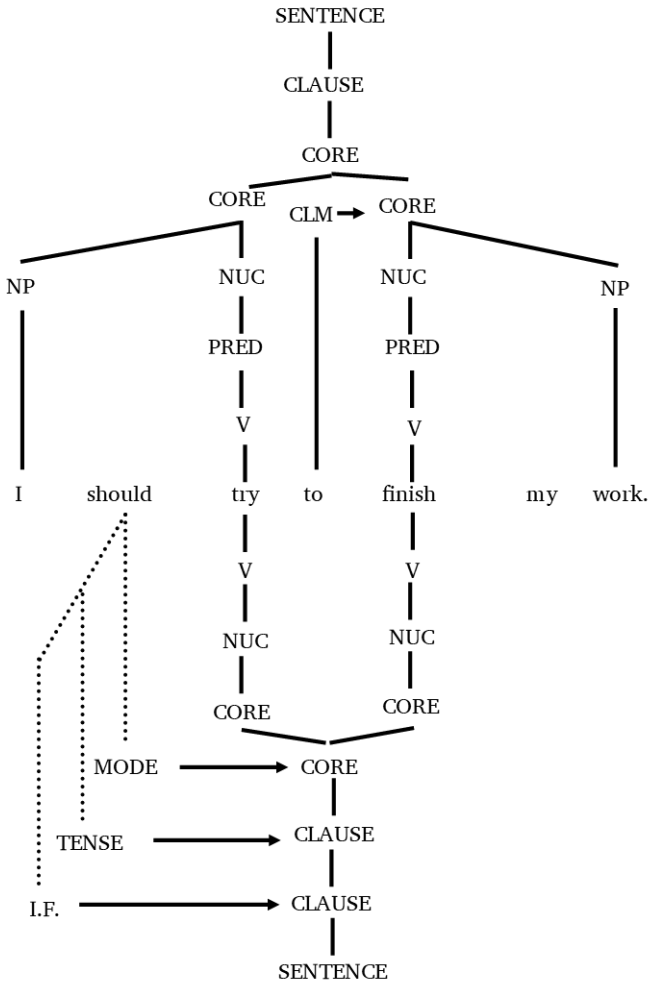

Figure 10. Constituent and operator projection of (1a)

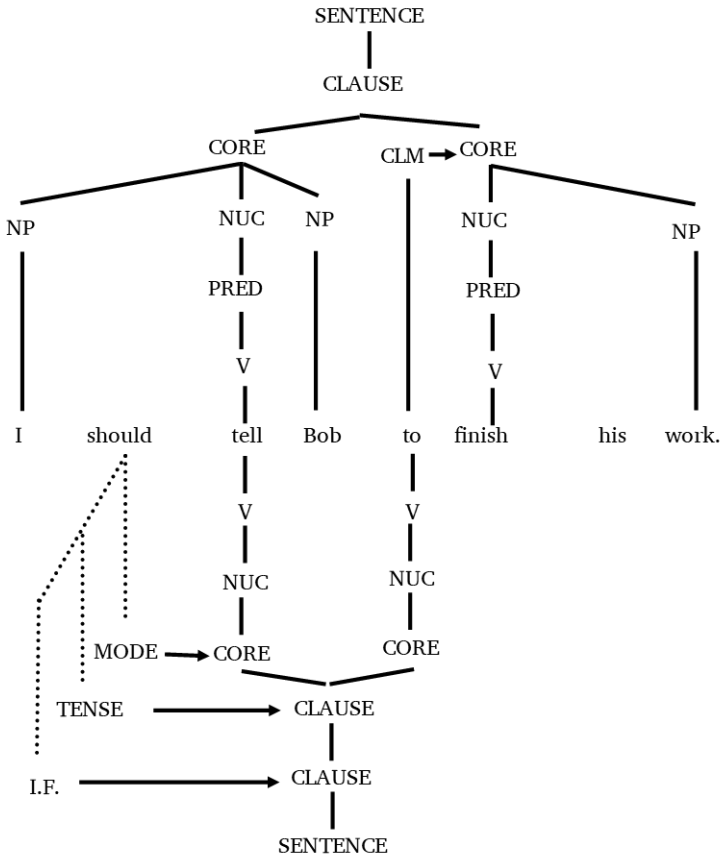

Figure 11. Constituent and operator projection of (1b)

In Figure 10 the modal *should* acts as an operator on the unit formed by the two cores. However, in Figure 11 the modal *should* only acts as an operator on the first core.

In addition to these nine possible nexus-juncture types, sentence coordination and sentence subordination are possible. No language is expected to have all possible options. Nor, as I say in Section 5.5, do all those that do appear in Sayula Popoluca need to be discussed in great detail in this thesis.

CHAPTER 5

Analysis

In this chapter I argue that the PSA controls the pronominal prefixes and the aspect/mood suffixes on a verb. Two distinct patterns of inflection exist, and the distinction between the two is based on a grammatical feature called dependency; I discuss this in Section 5.1. Verbs inflect for either an independent or dependent pattern. Both patterns display increasing markedness in the combination of three sets of pronominal prefixes and two sets of aspect/mood suffixes. I show that verbs with the single argument of an intransitive verb (S) as the PSA follow from the semantic representation of the clause and that PSA selection for transitive verbs requires reference to a language-particular person hierarchy.

In Section 5.2 I present the pronominal prefixes and the aspect/mood suffixes. PSA modulation in transitive verbs is shown by an increased marking in choice of combination of pronominal prefixes and aspect mood suffixes on the verb. In independent verbs, this is shown by increased markedness of the pronominal prefixes. In dependent verbs, this is shown by changing the set of aspect/mood suffixes the verb takes.

In Section 4.2 I discussed features that change the transitivity of a verb. In Sections 5.3 and 5.4 I discuss how these features change verbal transitivity in my data and follow the expectations of the semantic representation and PSA selection.

Lastly, in Section 5.5, I discuss how Sayula Popoluca shows the PSA in complex sentences, using RRG.

5.1 Dependency

Like other Mixe-Zoquean languages, Sayula Popoluca inflects the pronominal prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes on verbs based on dependency, cf. Wichmann (1995a:16) and

Romero Méndez (2009:609). The morphology of each dependency is discussed in Section 5.2. Clark describes three contexts in which dependent verbs are used.

The first context of dependent verbs is with certain clause-initial adverbs of time, manner, or location (Clark 2004:9). This is seen in example (2).

(2) Yenaméama iguiwát
yename=ama igui-wat-Ø
in.that.manner=DEFV C.3.4-do/make-B.INCOMPL
He did it that way [Informant scrapes two machetes together] Jaguars:65

Example (2) begins with an adverb of manner, the word *yename* 'in.that.manner'. Therefore the verb takes a dependent inflection.

The second context is in a "traditional subordinate clause, which modif[ies] an [independent] clause" (Clark 2004:9). This is shown in (3).

(3) a. Igui-íš Dios ni'c ca-ítp ayé
igui-iš-Ø Dios ni'c Ø-ca-it-p aye
C.3.4-see;PST-B.INCOMPL God COMPLZ A.3-NEG-exist-A.INCOMPL DEM.MED

cuyjúc,
cuyjuc
forest
When God saw that there wasn't [even] a forest, Noah:147.1

b. entonces je' ipensát tu'c idea.
entonces je' i-pensat-Ø tu'c idea
then 3.SG B.3-think-A.COMPL one idea
then he thought of an idea. Noah:147.2

The clause in (3b) functions as the independent clause. The clause in (3a) is a dependent clause that specifies when the event in (3b) happened.

The third context is "as the complement of a few auxiliary verbs of motion or ability" (Clark 2004:10). This is shown in (4).

(4) "Ca-óyap išcáygawá'n ayé,
Ø-ca-oya-p iš-cay-ca-wa'n aye
A.3-NEG-be.able.to-A.INCOMPL C.2.3-eat-PL-B.IRR DEM.MED
"You cannot eat them. Noah:82.2

In (4) the verb *oya* ‘be able to’ is a modal verb indicating ability. Its complement *cay* ‘eat’ therefore takes a dependent inflection.

In all other circumstances, the verb is independent. While "dependency" may not be the most accurate label for this phenomenon, I continue to use it here because it is established terminology in the language family. Pronominal prefixes and aspect-mood suffixes are determined by dependency. No other affixation on the verb indicates dependency.

As the focus of this thesis is the PSA, not dependency, I assume the verbs as Clark wrote them take the correct dependency. However, as I mention dependency frequently, the reader may find Clark's list of three kinds of dependent verbs helpful. It is possible that there are places where the dependency of a verb does not match the three categories listed here. It is also possible that Clark's list of types of dependent verbs is not exhaustive. What matters for the scope of this paper is that the correct PSA is shown. Other instances of unexpected dependency are a topic for further research.

5.2 Privileged Syntactic Argument as Shown in Verbal Affixes

In this section I discuss how PSA selection controls the pronominal prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes of a given finite verb in Sayula Popoluca. The morphological transitivity of a verb is determined by the number of macrorole arguments in the semantic representation of the clause, and PSA selection in transitive verbs is based upon the person hierarchy system in Sayula Popoluca. In Section 5.2.1, I present the pronominal prefixes and their inflections and present an alternative analysis of these prefixes to the analyses proposed by Clark and Tatsumi. In Section 5.2.2, I present the different forms of the aspect/mood suffixes. Section 5.2.3 argues that these inflections follow the expectations of RRG and are based on the number of macrorole arguments in the core and principles of PSA selection.

5.2.1 Pronominal Prefixes

All finite verbs inflect for both person and aspect/mood, which I discuss here and in Section 5.2.2. Figure 12 shows Clark's analysis of these affixes and shows all of the

possible combinations of pronominal prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes for finite verbs. (Clark 1961:194-195).

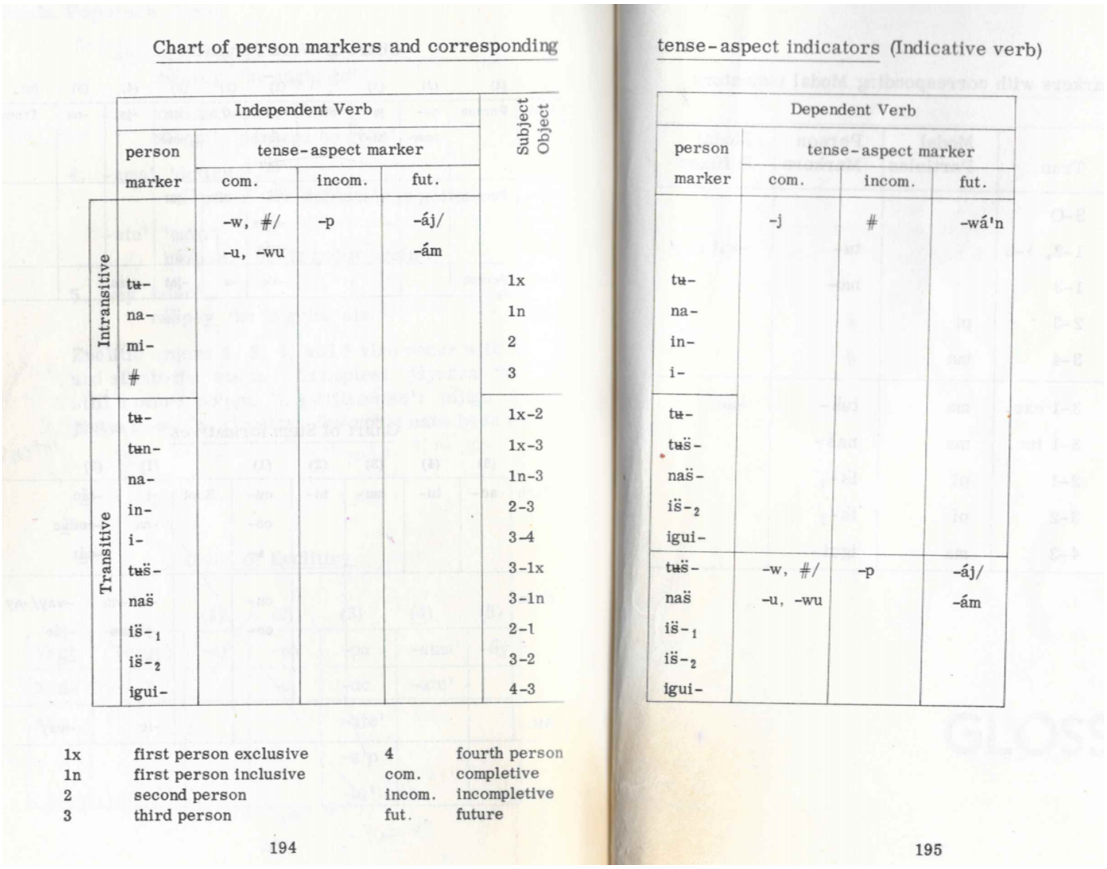

Chart of person markers and corresponding tense-aspect indicators (Indicative verb)

	person marker	Independent Verb: com.	Independent Verb: incom.	Independent Verb: fut.	Subject Object
Intransitive		-w, #/ -u, -wu	-p	-áj/ -ám	
	tu-				1x
	na-				1n
	mi-				2
	#				3
Transitive	tu-				1x-2
	tun-				1x-3
	na-				1n-3
	in-				2-3
	i-				3-4
	tuš-				3-1x
	naš				3-1n
	iš-$_1$				2-1
	iš-$_2$				3-2
	igui-				4-3

	Dependent Verb: person marker	Dependent Verb: com.	Dependent Verb: incom.	Dependent Verb: fut.
		-j	#	-wá'n
	tu-			
	na-			
	in-			
	i-			
	tu-			
	tuš-			
	naš-			
	iš-$_2$			
	igui-			
	tuš-	-w, #/ -u, -wu	-p	-áj/ -ám
	naš			
	iš-$_1$			
	iš-$_2$			
	igui-			

1x	first person exclusive	4	fourth person
1n	first person inclusive	com.	completive
2	second person	incom.	incompletive
3	third person	fut.	future

194 195

Figure 12. Clark's layout of person prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes

Note that Clark shows a different set of inflections for independent verbs and dependent verbs.

Sayula Popoluca verbal pronominal prefixes operate on a hierarchical system where the person is ranked. Others, such as Silverstein (1976), have described a similar system for other languages. The Sayula Popoluca hierarchy is spelled out in Figure 13.

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > 4th person

Figure 13. Hierarchy of person in Sayula Popoluca

The two macrorole arguments of the core can have a direct or inverse relationship based on this hierarchy. Figures 14 and 15 show the difference between actor as the PSA and

undergoer as the PSA, using the relationship between first and second person core arguments as an example. If the actor outranks the undergoer in a clause, then the actor is the PSA, as shown in Figure 14.

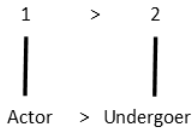

Figure 14. PSA is actor

In Figure 14, the first person argument is assigned the actor macrorole argument, and the second person argument is assigned the undergoer macrorole. Since the first person argument outranks the second person argument according to Figure 13, then the actor macrorole outranks the undergoer because it is assigned to the higher ranking argument. Tatsumi (2013) refers to this as a direct construction.

If the undergoer outranks the actor then the undergoer is the PSA, as shown in Figure 15.

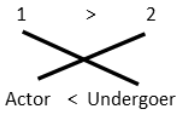

Figure 15. PSA is undergoer

In Figure 15, the first person argument is assigned the undergoer macrorole argument, and the second person argument is assigned the actor macrorole. Since the first person argument outranks the second person argument according to Figure 13, then the undergoer macrorole outranks the undergoer because it is assigned to the higher ranking argument. Tatsumi (2013) refers to this as an inverse construction.

Tables 5 and 6 show a breakdown of the pronominal prefixes shown in Figure 12. I have rearranged this data to make it more readable for the discussion in this thesis.[1, 2]

[1] Tatsumi replaces third person and fourth person with third proximate and third obviative, respectively. This is helpful, and I think this is more or less what Clark meant by third and fourth person. For this thesis, I have chosen to retain Clark's choice of third and fourth person.

[2] Note that the pronominal prefixes inflect for person and not number. There is a verbal suffix *-ca* which indicates the plural. As such, 1.excl may refer to 1.sing or 1.excl.pl

Table 5. Person prefixes for independent verbs, sorted by PSA

Intransitive		**Transitive**			
		Direct Construction		**Inverse Construction**	
PSA = S		**PSA = Actor**		**PSA = Undergoer**	
tʉ-	1excl	tʉ-	1excl	tʉ-	1excl
		tʉn-	1excl→3	tʉs̈-	1excl←3
na-	1incl	na-	1incl	nas̈-	1incl←3
				is̈-	1←2
mi-	2	in-	2	is̈-	2←3
Ø-	3	i-	3	igui-	3←4

Table 6. Person prefixes for dependent verbs, sorted by PSA

Intransitive		**Transitive**			
		Direct Construction		**Inverse Construction**	
PSA = S		**PSA = Actor**		**PSA = Undergoer**	
tʉ-	1excl	tʉ-	1excl		
		tʉs̈-	1excl→3	tʉs̈-	1excl←3
na-	1incl	nas̈-	1incl→3	nas̈-	1incl←3
				is̈-	1←2
in-	2	is̈-	2→3	is̈-	2←3
i-	3	igui-	3→4	igui-	3←4

Arranging the prefixes as they are in Tables 5 and 6 allows one to better see the arguments they represent in terms of a single argument of intransitive verbs, and actor or undergoer of transitive verbs. This three-way distinction is important for this thesis. The arrows show which argument is acting upon the other. For example, in Table 5, *tʉn-* indicates a first person actor acting upon a third person undergoer, and is represented as 1excl→3. At the same time, *tʉs̈-* in the context of Table 5 indicates a third person actor acting upon a first person exclusive undergoer, and is represented as 1excl←3. The PSA controls the choice of the pronominal prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes in Sayula Popoluca. The PSA for transitive clauses is the highest ranking argument in the core based on the person hierarchy in Figure 13. Note that the pronominal prefixes that indicate the actor as the

PSA in independent verbs do not actually gloss for both arguments.[3, 4] The lone exception is *tʉn-*, which glosses for both first person and third person. This is to distinguish it from *tʉ-*, which only glosses the actor, but is used when the undergoer is second person. Note also that *tʉ-* in the PSA = Actor column of Table 6 is not glossed as 1excl→2. In all other occurrences, *tʉ-* is glossed as simply 1excl., which seems to be its underlying meaning. Given that *tʉs̈-* is glossed as 1excl→3, it can be deduced that the second argument is second person when *tʉ-* is used on transitive verbs. Whichever macrorole is the higher ranking argument is assigned will be the PSA. The use of person hierarchy is most clearly seen in the independent inflection of the verb, as in (5).

(5) a. "Jínap tʉn-ama'áj ayé camná'.
jinap tʉn-ama'-aj aye cam-na'
now B.1EXCL.3-guard.at.night-A.IRR DEM.MED cornfield-DEF
"Now I will guard that cornfield at night. Noah:14.2

b. ʉújtsat tʉs̈cús̈cawate' ayé cajauná'.
ʉújtsat tʉs̈-cús̈-ca-w = ate' aye cajau-na'
1.PL C.1EXCL.3.-finish-PL-A.COMPL=COND DEM.MED jaguar-DEF
those jaguars would have finished us off. Jaguars:96.3

In (5a) the first person actor has a higher rank than the third person undergoer, *cam* 'cornfield'. However, in (5b) the third person actor, *cajau* 'jaguar', has a lower rank than the first person undergoer. It violates the hierarchy by acting upon an argument with a higher rank. This is shown by the verb taking the pronominal prefix *tʉs̈-*. If the actor had outranked the undergoer, the verb would have taken the prefix *tʉn-*.

As I stated in Section 2.2 Tatsumi claims *s̈-* following a pronominal prefix is a morpheme indicating the inverse (Tatsumi 2013:88-89). She analyzes the pronominal *na=* as direct, while *na=s̈-* is inverse, and *igui=* also indicates an inverse relationship (Tatsumi

[3] The pronominal prefix *tʉn-* is likely two morphemes: tʉ- 'first person exclusive' and a third person affix, possibly n- or ʉn-. I have not chosen to separate the two morphemes on this pronominal prefix.

[4] Note that with the exception of *tʉn-*, prefixes for independent verbs with the actor as the PSA match those prefixes of dependent verbs with S as the PSA. Therefore, these prefixes should be glossed for just one argument. Because of the direct-inverse system, the hearer can logically deduce the second argument when these prefixes are used with transitive verbs. For example, a first person inclusive argument does not interact with a second person argument in the data. Therefore, the hearer knows that in an independent transitive clause with a first person inclusive actor as the PSA, the undergoer must be third person. Similarly, if an independent transitive clause with a second person actor as the PSA, the hearer knows the second argument must be third person. If an independent transitive clause had a second person argument acting upon a first person argument, it would be inverse and use the prefix *ïs̈-*.

2013). However, Tatsumi's labels for these pronominal prefixes only work for verbs with an independent formation, which can be seen in Table 5. Table 6 shows that the pronominal prefixes on dependent verbs, whether inflected for actor or undergoer as the PSA, are identical with the independent verbs inflected for undergoer as the PSA. Therefore, a speaker could not be able to determine which is the actor and which is the undergoer from just the pronominal prefix. The only exception is a first person actor acting upon a second person undergoer. This form is exactly the same as its independent counterpart, shown in Table 5. In contrast to Tatsumi, I claim the inverse construction would be only one factor for choosing those prefixes since they are the same prefixes used by dependent transitive verbs with the actor as the PSA.[5]

I propose an alternative to Tatsumi's analysis. I claim that there are three sets of pronominal prefixes, as listed in Table 7. The prefixes show an increasing markedness on the verb as one goes from S as the PSA to actor as the PSA to undergoer as the PSA.

Table 7. Three sets of person prefixes, combining Tables 5 and 6

Set A*		**Set B****		**Set C*****	
tu-	1.excl	tu-	1.excl		
		tun-	1.excl.3	tuš-	1.excl.3
na-	1.incl	na-	1.incl	naš-	1.incl.3
mi-	2	in-	2	iš-	2.1
				iš-	2.3
Ø-	3	i-	3	igui-	3.4

*Used for independent intransitive verbs
**Used for independent transitive verbs with actor as the PSA and dependent intransitive verbs
***Used for independent transitive verbs with undergoer as the PSA and dependent transitive verbs

Set A pronominal prefixes in Table 7 are used for independent intransitive verbs. For the independent form of the verb, Set A prefixes are morphologically the least marked set of prefixes. This is shown by the third person prefix Ø-. Independent transitive verbs with the actor as the PSA use set B prefixes. For independent verbs, Set B pronominal

[5] Another factor in choosing these prefixes is dependency.

prefixes are a more marked option than Set A. This increased marking is shown in the change of second person and third person pronominal prefixes. *T-n-* is added to help the speaker and hearer distinguish between whether the first person exclusive is acting upon the second or third person. In all other cases, independent transitive verbs with the actor as the PSA only have one argument in the verb's pronominal prefix. Independent transitive verbs with the undergoer as the PSA use Set C pronominal prefixes, which are even more marked morphologically than Set B. This increased markedness is shown by adding *s̈-* or *gui-* on the Set B pronominal prefixes.[6]

Set B pronominal prefixes are also used for dependent intransitive verbs. For the dependent form of the verb, Set B prefixes are morphologically the least marked set of prefixes. Dependent transitive verbs use Set C pronominal prefixes, which is more morphologically marked than Set B. They use Set C whether the actor or the undergoer is the PSA. That is, both the direct and the inverse for the dependent inflection use Set C.

5.2.2 Aspect/Mood Suffixes

Verbs inflect for three possible aspect/moods: incompletive aspect, completive aspect, and irrealis mood, shown in Tables 8 and 9.[7] Broadly speaking, the completive aspect represents a completed action, the incompletive aspect represents an action that is not

[6] This particular analysis claims that both macrorole arguments are marked on Set C prefixes, but does not go as far as splitting the prefixes into further morphemes. An alternative analysis could argue that *s̈-* and '*gui-*' represent the non-PSA macrorole argument of the verb. The morpheme *s̈-* would be third person, It would be an allomorph of the morpheme *n-* used on the Set B prefix *t-n-*, the only Set B prefix to gloss for both arguments. The morpheme *gui-* would be the fourth person argument, as it only occurs when a third person argument is interacting with a fourth person argument. The prefix *is̈-* as second person acting upon first person would be irregular. Both Clark (1961) and Tatsumi (2013) treat it differently than *is̈-* as second person acting upon third person. One could also argue that the second person as the undergoer of the first person would be Ø-, if they chose to say that *t-* glossed both arguments in Set C. This alternative analysis would be worth further research.

[7] Clark labels the irrealis as future tense. I believe irrealis is a better label. Example (i) shows an example of an irrealis suffix used in a non-future sense, though it can be used in a future sense, as in (ii).

(i)	"térey,	po	t-nyijáwip	ni'c	naš̈camuyo'ywá'n	túјan.
	terey	po	t-n-nijawi-p	ni'c	naš̈-ca-mu-yo'y-wa'n	tujan
	papa	but	B.1EXCL.3-remember-A.INCOMPL	COMPLZ	C.1INCL.3-NEG-ASSOC-walk/go-B.IRR	rifle
	"Papa, I remember that we did not bring a rifle.					Jaguars:38.2

(ii)	po	ayé	iwámp	iguicaygawá'n	tacná'jat.	
	po	aye	i-wan-p	igui-cay-ga-wa'n	tac-na'-jat	
	but	DEM.MED	B.3-want-A.INCOMPL	C.3.4-eat-PL-B.IRR	dog-DEF-PL	
	but they want to eat the dogs.					Jaguars:30.2

yet completed in the time frame being discussed, and the irrealis mood represents an action that has not happened or not happened yet. Tables 8 and 9 are adapted from Clark (1961:194-915) to be more readable for my analysis.

Table 8. Aspect/Mood suffixes for independent verbs

Completive	**Incompletive**	**Irrealis**
-w, -Ø/-u, -wu	-p	-aj/-am

Table 9. Aspect/Mood suffixes for dependent verbs

	Completive	**Incompletive**	**Irrealis**
Intrans. Trans. Actor as PSA	-j	-Ø	-wa'n
Trans. Undergoer as PSA	-w, -Ø/-u, -wu	-p	-aj/-am

Table 8 shows that all independent verbs use the same completive, incompletive, and irrealis aspect/mood suffixes, regardless of whether the PSA is S, actor, or undergoer. Table 9 shows that for dependent verbs S as the PSA and actor as the PSA use the same aspect/mood suffixes, while undergoer uses a different set of aspect/mood suffixes. Recall that in dependent verbs, actor as the PSA and undergoer as the PSA use the same pronominal prefixes. The choice of aspect/mood marker disambiguates the two options. This distinction shows markedness on the verb, as Set A is the non-default suffix choice for dependent verbs.

Comparing the suffixes in Tables 8 and 9, there are two sets of aspect/mood markers, which I show in Table 10.

Table 10. Two sets of aspect/mood suffixes

	Set A*	**Set B****
Completive	-w, -Ø/-u, -wu	-j
Incompletive	-p	-Ø
Irrealis	-aj/-am	-wa'n
*Used for independent verbs and dependent transitive verbs with undergoer as the PSA		
**Used for dependent verbs when they are intransitive or transitive with actor as the PSA		

Set A aspect/mood suffixes refers to those aspect/mood suffixes on independent verbs and those on dependent transitive verbs where the undergoer is the PSA (i.e. inverse). Set B aspect/mood suffixes refers to those on dependent intransitive verbs and dependent transitive verbs where the actor is the PSA (i.e. direct).

Table 11 shows how verbs are controlled by the single argument of an intransitive verb (S), actor, or undergoer PSA using a combination of pronominal prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes shown in Tables 7 and 10.[8] In Table 11 I show that the pairing of pronominal prefix and aspect/mood suffix a verb must take is determined by the PSA.

Table 11. Combination of person prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes

PSA	**Pronominal Prefix**	**Aspect/Mood Suffix**
S, Independent	Set A	Set A
(nonexistent)	Set A	Set B
Actor, Independent	Set B	Set A
S, Dependent	Set B	Set B
Undergoer (Independent & Dependent)	Set C	Set A
Actor, Dependent	Set C	Set B

If the PSA of an independent verb is S, it will take a Set A pronominal prefix and a Set A aspect/mood suffix. If the PSA of an independent verb is the actor, it will take a Set B pronominal prefix and Set A aspect/mood suffix. If the PSA of a dependent verb is S, it will take a Set B pronominal prefix and a Set B aspect/mood suffix. If the PSA of a dependent verb is the actor, it will take a Set C pronominal prefix and Set B aspect/mood suffix. If

[8] To avoid confusion of A as actor and A as Set A, I do not abbreviate "actor" or "undergoer". However, as "single argument of an intransitive verb" is cumbersome, I retain the abbreviation S.

the PSA of a verb is the undergoer, whether independent or dependent, it will take a Set C pronominal prefix and Set A aspect/mood suffix. No verb takes a combination of a Set A pronominal prefix and a Set B aspect/mood suffix. Pairing Set C of pronominal prefixes with Set A aspect/mood suffixes indicates an inversion of the actor and the undergoer. The undergoer as the PSA in both dependencies replaces the prefix *tɯ-* with the prefix *iʉ̈-*.[9]

5.2.3 Application of Pronominal Prefixes and Aspect/Mood Suffixes

In this section, I show that the PSA controls the selection of pronominal prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes on the the verb. Table 11 in Section 5.2.1 shows the combination of pronominal prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes that a verb must take based upon its PSA.

The person hierarchy shown in Figure 13 and repeated here in Figure 16 is a key factor in accounting for the PSA in this language.[10]

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > 4th person

Figure 16. Hierarchy of person in Sayula Popoluca

The PSA in Sayula Popoluca is always the leftmost argument in Figure 16.

Figure 17, which is a repeat of Figure 9 in Section 4.3, shows the PSA hierarchy in RRG. The PSA hierarchy is universal and different morpho-syntactic alignments have their default PSA selection based upon it.

Arg. of DO > 1st arg. of **do'** > 1st arg. of **pred'** (x, y) > 2nd arg. of **pred'** (x, y) > arg. of **pred'** (x)

Figure 17. Privileged syntactic argument selection hierarchy (Van Valin 2005:100)

[9] The pronominal prefix *iʉ̈-* indicates a second person argument acting upon a first person argument. It looks identical to the pronominal prefix *iʉ̈-* '2.3'. Both Clark and Tatsumi treat this use of *iʉ̈-* as distinct from from a second person argument interacting with a third person argument. If *ʉ̈-* were an inverse marker, an inverse relationship between first person exclusive and second person would be *tuʉ̈-*, which lead lead to confusion with *tuʉ̈-* as a first person exclusive argument interacting with a third person argument. Tatsumi's own analysis treats this *iʉ̈-* in a slightly different manner than the other pronominal prefixes. This use of *iʉ̈-* certainly seems irregular. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explain why Sayula Popoluca does this, but is a topic of interest for further research.

[10] Tatsumi also uses person hierarchy in her analysis. She describes it as 1.excl/1.incl > 2 > 3.prox > 3.obv (Tatsumi 2013:87).

According to Van Valin (2005:100), the default PSA for a nominative-accusative system is the argument that occurs farthest to the left on the above hierarchy, while the default PSA in an ergative-absolutive system is the argument furthest to the right.

With regards to Figure 17, the actor-undergoer distinction is neutralized as the single argument of a verb in Sayula Popoluca, unlike transitive verbs. The single argument of an intransitive verb is morphologically the least marked PSA option in Sayula Popoluca. The default PSA in transitive clauses is the argument furthest to the left in Figure 17, just like nominative-accusative systems. The first argument in the semantic representation — that is, the actor — is the next least marked PSA after S. The second argument in the semantic representation — the undergoer — is the most marked PSA option. It is also the non-default option. As stated in Section 4.3, PSA modulation allows the non-default macrorole to be the PSA. PSA modulation violates the hierarchy of Figure 17 and the undergoer is the PSA. This does not result in the passive, as in nominative-accusative systems, but rather, the inverse.

Sayula Popoluca neutralizes the actor and undergoer distinction in intransitive clauses. That is, they are inflected the same in intransitive clauses. This is shown in Examples (6) and (7), as I explain below. The verbs in (6) are independent, while the verbs in (7) are dependent.

(6) a. Cajauná' mimp,
cajau-na' Ø-min-p
jaguar-DEF A.3-come-A.INCOMPL
The jaguar comes, Jaguars:60.1

b. Cuyjúc ca-ítp.
cuyjuc Ø-ca-it-p
forest A.3-NEG-exist-A.INCOMPL
There wasn't a forest. Noah:145

(7) a. Pues, ca-oyó'c iqué'c de juru."
pues ca-oy-o'c i-que'c-Ø de juru
well NEG-good-AUG B.3-fly-B.INCOMPL probably
Well, he probably did not fly well. Noah:89

b. Igacumpliát icreenciajéy.
i-ca-cumpliat-Ø i-creencia=jey
B.3-NEG-fulfill-B.INCOMPL B.3-belief=also
He wasn't faithful, either. Noah:112

The sentence in (6a) has the semantic representation **do'** (3 [cajau], [**come'** (3 [cajau])]), while (6b) is **exist'** (3 [cuyjuc]).[11] In both cases, the argument is the single macrorole argument of the predicate. The only difference is that the third person [*cajau*] is an actor while the third person [*cuyjuc*] is an undergoer.[12] The pronominal prefix is neutralized for actor and undergoer and both have S as the PSA. This is seen by the verb taking the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p* in both examples. The same neutralization occurs in dependent inflections as well. (7a) has the semantic representation **do'** (3, [**fly'** (3)]), while (7b) is represented as **fulfilled'** (3 [creencia]).[13, 14] Again, both are the single macrorole argument of the predicate and the only difference is that the third person in (7a) is an actor while the third person [*creencia*] in (7b) is an undergoer. In (7a) and (7b) the actor and undergoer distinction is neutralized and they have S as the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix -Ø.

As stated in Section 4.2, verbs with locative predicates only have one macrorole argument, as shown in (8). The other argument is considered a non-macrorole argument.

(8) Mit nú̵šcap montaña.
mit Ø-nu̵š-ca-p montaña
with/and A.3-go-PL-A.INCOMPL jungle
And they went to the jungle Jaguars:6

The semantic representation of (8) is **do'** (*3*, [**go'** (3)]) & INGR **be.at'** (montaña, 3) [MR 1]. Because there is a locative predicate, there is only one macrorole argument in the core

[11] When the pronominal prefix has a coreferential arguemt such an NP, deictic or independent pronoun, that coreferential argument is shown in brackets next to the argument in the semantic representation. In the case of (6a), *cajau* is coreferential with the pronominal prefix Ø-. Likewise, in (6b) *cuyjuc* is coreferential with the pronominal prefix Ø-.

[12] This follows from discussion in Section 4.2. If a verb with a single macrorole has an activity predicate, that macrorole is an actor, by default. If that verb does not have an activity predicate, the macrorole is undergoer, by default (Van Valin 2005:63).

[13] See Section 5.1 for discussion of types of dependent verbs.

[14] A literal translation of (7b) is "His faith wasn't fulfilled", but "He wasn't faithful" is more natural English.

— third person. Therefore the verb is intransitive and S is the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p* on this independent verb.

Another instance of a locative predicate is shown in example (9), which is a dependent clause.

(9) M~~uu~~t icójy cuyjúgum,
m~~uu~~t i-coy-j cuyjuc-jugum
with/and B.3-arrive-B.COMPL forest-in
And when he arrived at the forest, Candle:12.1

The semantic representation of (9) is BECOME **be.at'** (cuyjuc, 3) [MR 1]. Because there is a locative predicate, there is only one macrorole argument in the core — third person. Therefore, the verb is intransitive and therefore S is the PSA. This is seen in the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-j*.

Transitivity follows from the semantic representation of the core. The difference between transitive verbs and intransitive verbs is that the actor-undergoer distinction is not neutralized for transitive verbs. Therefore, the choice of the actor or the undergoer as the PSA controls verbal inflection for transitive verbs. PSA selection of either the actor or undergoer follows from the Sayula Popoluca person hierarchy.

The stative verb *jawi* 'know', as in (10), has the lexical entry **know'** (x, y), where x is the perceiver and y is the stimulus. There are two macrorole arguments on the verb.

(10) Injáwip ti?
in-jawi-p ti
B.2-know-A.INCOMPL what
Do you know what? Noah:125

The semantic representation of (10) is **know'** (2, ti). The second person functions as the actor, while *ti*, which is a third person argument, is the undergoer. As the actor outranks the undergoer in the person hierarchy, the actor is the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *in-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p* on this independent verb.

The verb *iš̈* ‘see’, as in (11), is also transitive, with the lexical entry **see'** (x, y), which has two macrorole arguments.

(11) Igui-íš̈ Dios ni'c ca-ítp ayé
igui-iš̈-Ø Dios ni'c Ø-ca-it-p aye
C.3.4-see;PST-B.INCOMPL God COMPLZ A.3-NEG-exist-A.INCOMPL DEM.MED

cuyjúc,
cuyjuc
forest
When God saw that there wasn't [even] a forest, Noah:147.1

The sentence in (11) is represented semantically as **see'** (*3* [Dios], 4 [**exist'** (3 [cuyjuc])]). There are two macrorole arguments in the core. The third person [*Dios*] functions as the actor of the verb *iš̈* ‘see’ and 4 [**exist'** (3 [cuyjuc])] is the undergoer of *iš̈* ‘see’. The actor outranks the undergoer in the person hierarchy, so the actor is the PSA. This is seen in the Set C pronominal prefix *igui-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix -Ø with this dependent verb. Also in (11), there is a second core within the clause, with *it* ‘exist’ as the nucleus, represented by **exist'** (3 [*cuyjuc*]). As *it* 'exist' has only one macrorole argument, third person [*cuyjuc*], it is intransitive, and thus S is the PSA of *it* 'exist'. This is seen in the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p* on this independent verb.

Another transitive verb, *cay* ‘eat’, as shown in (12), has the lexical entry of **do'** (x, [**eat'** (x, y)]), which has two macrorole arguments. In this example, the undergoer outranks the actor.

(12) ~~uu~~jtsat naš̈cacaygáj
~~uu~~jtsat naš̈-ca-cay-ga-aj
1.PL C.1INCL.3-NEG-eat-PL-A.IRR
They won't eat us Jaguars:30.1

The semantic representation of (12) is **do'** (3, [**eat'** (3, 1 [~~uu~~jtsat])]). There are two macrorole arguments in the core. Therefore, the PSA of this independent verb must be the actor or the undergoer of a transitive verb. The third person functions as the actor and first person [~~uu~~jtsat] is the undergoer. The undergoer outranks the actor, so the undergoer is

the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set C pronominal prefix *naš-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-aj*.

Example (13) shows another independent transitive verb with the undergoer outranking the actor.

(13) tuščacuščawu!
tuš-ca-cuš-ca-wu
C.1EXCL.3.-NEG-finish-PL-A.COMPL
[The jaguars] didn't finish us! Jaguars:90.3

The semantic representation of (13) is **do**' (3, [**finish**' (3, 1)]). There are two macrorole arguments in the core, so the PSA must be the actor or undergoer of a transitive verb. The third person functions as the actor and the first person is the undergoer. The undergoer outranks the actor, so the undergoer is the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set C pronominal prefix *tuš-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-wu*.

As stated in Section 4.2, RRG claims that two-argument activity verbs with a non-referential second argument have only one macrorole argument — the actor (Van Valin 2005:63). This is seen in (14).

(14) a. ni'c je' cayp muut itp
ni'c je' Ø-cay-p muut Ø-it-p
because 3.SG A.3-eat-A.INCOMPL with/and A.3-exist-A.INCOMPL

iyošwatwá'n.
i-yošwat-wa'n
B.3-do.work-B.IRR
because he eats and has to work. Candle:7.3

b. Pues claru, icáygaway acš.
pues claru i-cay-ca-w=ay acš
well clear B.3-eat-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1 fish
Well of course, they ate the fish. Noah:120

c. Entonces iguinájau Dios, "Ah hijo," inʉ́mp,
entonces igui-na-ja-u Dios ah hijo i-nʉm-p
then C.3.4-say-REF-A.COMPL God Oh son B.3-say-A.INCOMPL

"migajacaygáj ayé acs̈!"
mi-ca-ja-cay-ca-aj aye acs̈
A.2-NEG-NEG.COMPL-eat-PL-A.IRR DEM.MED fish
Then God spoke to him. "Oh son," he said, "You will not eat those fish [any more]."
Noah:122

The clause with the verb *cay* 'eat' in (14a) conforms to expectations. Its semantic representation is **do'** (3, [**eat'** (3, Ø)]). It has only one macrorole argument and is intransitive. This independent verb has S as the PSA, as shown by the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. The sentence in example (14b) also conforms to expectations. Its semantic representation is **do'** (3, [**eat'** (3, acs̈)]). The argument *acs̈* 'fish' is clearly referential. The core has two macrorole arguments and is thus transitive. The actor is the PSA of this independent verb, as shown by the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-w*. The semantic representation of the quote in (14c) is **do'** (2, [**eat'** (2, acs̈)]). Here, *acs̈* 'fish' does not refer to a specific fish, but rather fish, or a class of fish, in general. Therefore, it is non-referential. Since two-argument activity verbs with a non-referential second argument only have an actor macrorole, the second argument, *acs̈*, is a non-macrorole argument and the verb is intransitive. This is shown by the Set A pronominal prefix *mi-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-aj* on this independent verb.

5.3 Valency-changing affixes

In Section 5.2, I showed how the PSA controls the pronominal prefixes and the aspect/mood suffixes in Sayula Popoluca. Given the completeness constraint, syntactic template selection principle, and M-transitivity, which I discussed in Section 4, one would generally expect a verb with one macrorole in its semantic representation to take morphology for the single argument of an intransitive verb (S), and a verb with two macroroles to take morphology either for the actor or the undergoer as the PSA. Here, I discuss how the transitivity-changing mechanisms in 4.2 apply to Sayula Popoluca and change the PSA that controls the choice of the pronominal prefixes and the aspect/mood suffixes.

5.3.1 Causative ac-

As mentioned in 4.2, the causative is a semantic operator that adds an actor argument to the core and transitivizes the verb. Sayula Popoluca uses the causative prefix *ac-* as a valency-raising mechanism. Therefore, an intransitive verb is now able to take morphology reflecting the actor or undergoer as the PSA, as shown in the independent verbs in (15) and (16).

(15) a. Ayé palomaway oy yó'ypay.
aye paloma-way oy Ø-yó'y-p=ay
DEM.MED dove-DIM good A.3-walk/go-A.INCOMPL=PFV1
That dove travelled well. Noah:101

b. "Aja, jemé iš-acyó'yp?"
aja jemé iš-ac-yo'y-p
huh that.is C.2.3-CAUS-walk/go-A.INCOMPL
[The younger man responded] "Uh huh? Is that what makes you travel?" Noah:24

The verb *yo'y* 'go/walk' normally has the lexical entry **do'** (x, [**go'** (x)]), as seen in (15a), which is represented as **do'** (3 [paloma], [**go'** (3 [paloma])]). It has one macrorole argument, 3 [*paloma*]. Therefore it is intransitive and the PSA is S, as shown in the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. The causative *ac-* transitivizes the verb in (15b), which means it must mark for actor or undergoer instead of S. It has the semantic representation [**do'** (3 [jeme], Ø)] CAUSE [**do'** (2, [**go'** (2)])]. It has two macrorole arguments, third person [*jeme*] and second person. The third person [*jeme*] functions as the actor, while the second person is the undergoer. As the undergoer outranks the actor in the person hierarchy, the verb here has the undergoer as the PSA, which is shown in the morphology. This is seen in the combination of the Set C pronominal prefix *iš-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*.

Another example of the causative prefix *ac-* transitivizing a verb is shown in (16).

(16) a. Cú'tnup pa yucm, cu'tp,
Ø-cú't-nu-p pa yucm Ø-cu't-p
A.3-rise-PFV2-A.INCOMPL so.that high A.3-rise-A.INCOMPL

cu'tp ayéma' aj.
Ø-cu't-p aye-ma' aj
A.3-rise-A.INCOMPL DEM.MED-??? boat
It rises so high, rises, the boat rises. Noah:71

b. entonce, igui-ajcú'tca pa yucm.
entonce igui-ac-cu't-ca-Ø pa yucm
then C.3.4-CAUS-rise-PL-B.INCOMPL so.that high
then they made it go up high. Noah:173.2

The verb *cu't* 'rise' has the lexical entry **do'** (x, [**go.up'** (x)]), as seen in (16a), where it is independent. The first occurrence of it here, for example, is represented as **do'** (3, [**go.up'** (3)]). It has one macrorole argument, the third person. Therefore it is intransitive and the PSA is S, as shown by the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. The causative *ac-* transitivizes the verb *yo'y* in (16b). It has the semantic representation [**do'** (3, Ø)] CAUSE [**do'** (4, [**go.up'** (4)])]. It has two macrorole arguments, third person and fourth person. The third person functions as the actor, while the fourth person is the undergoer. As the actor outranks the undergoer in the hierarchy, the verb here has the actor as the PSA, as shown in the morphology. This is seen in the combination of the Set C pronominal prefix *igui-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix -Ø on this dependent verb.

Example (17) shows the causative *ac-* interacting with the verb *o'c* 'die', which is dependent in both clauses.

(17) a. Po jínapay s̈ʉwat, tʉ-ó'jcanu, ʉ́jtsat tʉméchcat,
po jínapay s̈ʉwat tʉ-o'c-ca-nu-Ø ʉjtsat tʉ-mechc-jat
but today 1.EXCL-die-PL-PFV2-B.INCOMPL 1.PL 1.EXCL-two-PL

mit tʉnwáy.
mit tʉn-way
with/and 1EXCL.POSS-offspring
But today my son and I would have died. Jaguars:91

b. Jémama igui-agó'jcaj.
jem = ama igui-ac-o'c-ja-j
DEIC.DIST=DEFV C.3.4-CAUS-die-REF-B.COMPL
They hunted them there. Jaguars:14

The verb *o'c* ‘die’ has the lexical entry INGR **die'** (x), as seen in (17a). The core is represented as INGR **die'** (1). It has one macrorole argument, the first person. Therefore it is intransitive and the PSA is S. This is shown in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *t͡ɯ-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix -Ø. The causative *ac-* transitivizes the verb in (17b), so the PSA must be actor or undergoer. It has the semantic representation [**do'** (3, Ø)] CAUSE [**die'** (4)]. It has two macrorole arguments, the third person and the fourth person. The third person functions as the actor, while the fourth person is the undergoer. As the actor outranks the undergoer in the hierarchy, the verb *o'c* ‘die’ here has the actor as the PSA, as shown in the morphology. This is seen in the combination of the Set C pronominal prefix *igui-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-j*.

Example (18) shows the causative *ac-* interacting with the verb *po'c* ‘flee’, which is dependent in both clauses.

(18) a. más que ipó'jc cajauná'.
más que i-po'c-j cajau-na'
more.than B.3-to.flee-B.COMPL jaguar-DEF
except that the jaguar fled. Jaguars:100.2

b. naš-acpó'jca cajauná'.
naš-ac-po'c-ja-Ø cajau-na'
C.1INCL.3-CAUS-to.flee-REF.-B.INCOMPL jaguar-DEF
and we will chase away the jaguar. Jaguars:39.2

The verb *po'c* has the semantic representation **do'** (x, [**go.away'** (x)]), as seen in (18a). The core is represented as **do'** (3 [cajau], [**go.away'** (3 [cajau])]). It has one macrorole argument, 3 [cajau]. Therefore, it is intransitive and the PSA is S, using the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-j*. The causative *ac-* transitivizes the verb in (18b), so the PSA must be the actor or undergoer. It has the semantic representation [**do'** (1, Ø)] CAUSE [**go.away'** (3 [cajau])]. It has two macrorole arguments, first person and third person [*cajau*]. The first person functions as the actor, while third person [*cajau*] is the undergoer. As the actor outranks the undergoer in the hierarchy, the verb *po'c* here has the actor as the PSA, as shown in the morphology. This is seen in the combination of the Set C pronominal prefix *naš-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix -Ø.

5.3.2 Applicative tu-

I claim that the prefix *tu-* adds a third direct core argument, as in the dependent verb in (19). In (19), *tu-* allows for a non-argument from the periphery to be promoted to a core argument.

(19) "Iš̈pijót nu'pújun, intu'yáj may nuun pa
iš-pijot nu'pujun in-tu'y-aj may nuun pa
C.2.3-chisel.out all B.2-make.tortillas-A.IRR many tortilla so.that

iš̈tu-apatswá'n ayé ajná'.
iš-tu-apats-wa'n aye aj-na'
C.2.3-APPL-fill.up-B.IRR DEM.MED boat-DEF
"When you have chiseled it all out, make many tortillas, so that you might fill up that boat with them. Noah:43.2

The semantic representation of the clause *may nuun pa iš̈tu-apatswá'n ayé ajná'* in (19) is [**do'** (̈(2, Ø)] CAUSE [[do' (3, Ø)] CAUSE INGR [**be.full'** (aj)]].The verb *apats* 'fill up' appears to be a causative form of *pats* 'be full'. It likely was originally *ac-pats*. In this clause, the third person argument refers back to *nuun* 'tortilla' in the previous clause. This third person argument is brought into the core by the applicative *tu-* and acts as an inanimate effector, filling up the boat. The second person argument causes the tortillas to fill the boat. While *tu-* here adds an argument to the core in (19), the transitivity as shown on the verb does not change because it does not change the number of macrorole arguments in the core.[15] Verb agreement in this dependent clause is controlled by the actor macrorole argument here as seen in the combination of the Set C pronominal prefix *iš̈-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-wa'n*.[16]

The prefix *tu-* occurs twice in the data with the causative prefix *ac-*, as seen in (20b) and (20c). The verb *marau* 'hear' has the lexical entry **hear'** (x, y). It is transitive, and in (20a) it has the actor as the PSA. When *tu-* occurs with *ac-*, it adds a causative to a transitive verb.

[15] As mentioned in Section 4.2, RRG does not recognize the concept of ditransitivity. Transitivity is based on the number of macrorole arguments, As the core already had an actor and an undergoer, and neither was removed, the transitivity does not change.

[16] Example (19) is the only time in the texts where *tu-* occurs without other valency-changing prefixes. More research is needed to confirm my analysis of *tu-*.

(20) a. cajauná' iguimárajw machíti,
cajau-na' igui-marau-j machíti
jaguar-DEF C.3.4-hear-B.COMPL machete
When the jaguar heard the machete Jaguars:83.2

b. T~~ʉ~~n-actumáraugap machítiná'y."
t~~ʉ~~n-ac-tu-marau-ga-p machiti-na'y
B.1EXCL.3-CAUS-APPL-hear-PL-A.INCOMPL machete-DEF
We made them hear the machetes." Jaguars:98

c. I-actumáraugap cajauná'.
i-ac-tu-marau-ga-p cajau-na'
B.3-CAUS-APPL-hear-PL-A.INCOMPL jaguar-DEF
They made the jaguar hear it. Jaguars:75

The dependent verb in Example (20a) has the semantic representation **hear'** (3 [cajau], 4 [machiti]), and the actor is the PSA, as shown by the Set C pronominal prefix *igui-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-j*. Together, the prefixes *ac-* and *tu-* form a causative construction of a transitive verb. The prefix *ac-* adds an actor. The *tu-* allows a non-argument from the periphery to be promoted to the core. The independent verb in Example (20b) has the semantic representation [**do'** (1, Ø)] CAUSE [**hear'** (3, machiti)]. The first person is the actor, the third person is a non-macrorole core argument, and *machiti* is the undergoer. The verb *marau* 'hear' has the actor as the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *t~~ʉ~~n-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. The independent verb in Example (20c) has the semantic representation [**do'** (3, Ø)] CAUSE [**hear'** (cajau, Ø)]. The actor is the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*.

5.3.3 Associative mu-

The associative prefix *mu-* also raises verbal valency. Like the causative prefix *ac-*, it adds a core slot to an intransitive verb, which allows the verb to take transitive morphology. The new slot is always an undergoer.

The verb *n~~ʉ~~s̈* 'go' typically has the lexical entry **do'** (x, [**go'** (x)]) or **do'** (x, [**go'** (x)]) & INGR **be.at'** (y, x) [MR1], depending upon usage. It is intransitive due to the locative predicate and the PSA is S, as seen in (21a). Adding the associative prefix *mu-* allows *n~~ʉ~~s̈*

to take a second argument and have transitive affixation, as in the independent verbs in (21b).

(21) a. Mit nú̈s̈cap montaña.
mit Ø-nu̇s̈-ca-p montaña
with/and A.3-go-PL-A.INCOMPL jungle
And they went to the jungle Jaguars:6

b. Mit imunú̈s̈cap itác.
mit i-mu-nu̇s̈-ca-p i-tac
with/and B.3-ASSOC-go-PL-A.INCOMPL 3.POSS-dog
And they took their dogs Jaguars:7

In (21a) the semantic representation **do'** (3, [**go'** (3)]) & INGR **be.at'** (montaña, 3) [MR1]. The PSA is S because there is only one macrorole argument. This is seen in the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. Adding the associative *mu-* allows *nu̇s̈* to take a second macrorole argument and become transitive. (21b) has the semantic representation **do'** (3, [**go'** (3)]) & **have'** (3, tac). The actor is the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*.

The verb *min* 'come' typically has the lexical entry **do'** (x, [**come'** (x)]) or **do'** (x, [**come'** (x)]) & INGR **be.at'** (y, x) [MR1], depending upon usage. Like *nus̈*, it is intransitive due to the locative predicate. The PSA is S, as seen in (22a). The associative prefix *mu-* allows *min* to take a second argument and become transitive, as in the independent verbs in (22b).

(22) a. i-e'p mimp tu'c na'waywaý.
i-e'p-p Ø-min-p tu'c na'way-way
B.3-see-A.INCOMPL A.3-come-A.INCOMPL one old.man-DIM
he saw an old man coming. Noah:18.2

b. Ayé na'waywaý imumímp tu'c ipas̈cúywaý.
aye na'way-way i-mu-min-p tu'c i-pas̈cuy-way
DEM.MED old.man-DIM B.3-ASSOC-come-A.INCOMPL one 3.POSS-stick-DIM
The old man carried his stick. Noah:19

The core with *min* in (22a) has the semantic representation **do'** (3 [na'way], [**come'** (3 [na'way])]), and is intransitive with S as the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the

Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. The associative prefix *mu-* allows *min* to take a second macrorole argument. In (22b) the actor is the PSA, the core has the semantic representation **do'** (3, [**come'** (3)]) & **have'** (3, pa̋cuy). This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*.

Example (23) shows another instance of the prefix *mu-* changing the transitivity of a verb, *yo'y* 'walk/go'. The verb *yo'y* 'walk/go' typically has the lexical entry **do'** (x, [**go'** (x)]) or **do'** (x, [**go'** (x)]) & INGR **be.at'** (y, x) [MR1]. It is an intransitive verb, due to the locative predicate and S is the PSA, as seen in (23a). The associative *mu-* allows *yo'ÿ* to take a second argument and have transitive affixation, as in (23b). The verbs in both of these clauses are independent.

(23) a. Ayé palomawáy oy yó'ypay.
aye paloma-way oy Ø-yó'y-p=ay
DEM.MED dove-DIM good A.3-walk/go-A.INCOMPL=PFV1
That dove travelled well. Noah:101

b. Iquí'chiway, imuyó'ypay, inu̇mp,
i-quí'chiway i-muyo'y-p=ay i-nu̇m-p
3.POSS-son B.3-take.with-A.INCOMPL=PFV1 B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
His son, whom he had taken with him, said, Jaguars:28.1

(23a) has the semantic representation **do'** (3 [paloma], [**go'** (3 [paloma])]). It is intransitive and therefore the PSA is S. This is seen in the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. The associative *mu-* allows *yo'y* to take a second macrorole argument. *Iqui'chiway imuyo'yp=ay* in (23b) has the semantic representation **do'** (3, [**go'** (3)]) & **have'** (3, qui'chiway) and the actor is the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*.

5.3.4 Reflexive ni-

Typically, when a verb has an actor and an undergoer, it is transitive. However, in the case of a reflexive they are the same entity. In Sayula Popoluca the reflexive prefix *ni-* reduces the number of core slots and the valency of the verb by one, and an otherwise tran-

sitive verb takes intransitive morphology.[17] This is shown in example (24).[18] Note also that the reflexive *ni-* always co-occurs with the suffix *-jʉ*, which indicates self-reference.[19]

(24) Jeméma' ayé inidefendiátcʉjʉwá'n.
jem-ema' aye i-ni-defendiat-cʉ-jʉ-wa'n
DEIC.DIST-??? DEM.MED B.3-REFL-protect-PL-REF-B.IRR
There they were to protect themselves. Noah:97

The verb *defendiat* 'defend' has the lexical entry **do'** (x, [**defend'** (x, y)]). In (24) the semantic representation is **do'** (3 [aye], [**defend'** (3 [aye], 3 [aye])]). The actor and the undergoer of the verb are the same entity, so the number of macrorole arguments is reduced and the verb *defendiat* has S as the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-wa'n*, because the verb is dependent.

Example (25) is another instance of the reflexive *ni-*. This time, it is used with an independent verb.

(25) Bueno, pues, niconsentrátcʉjʉu ayé montaña
bueno pues Ø-ni-concentrat-cʉ-jʉ-u aye montaña
well well A.3-REFL-gather.together-PL-REF-A.COMPL DEM.MED jungle
Well, then, they gathered together in that jungle. Jaguars:11.1

[17] There is another prefix *ni-*, which occurs twice in my data. It occurs with the negative prefix *ca-*, and indicates a negation of an incompletive aspect. It does not occur in every instance of a negative incompletive verb. This should not be confused with the reflexive *ni-*. Clark states that two *ni-* prefixes fill different slots on the verb (Clark 1961:180 ,184 ,193). I lack the data to prove that they occupy different slots, but (i) and (ii) fit the negative incompletive gloss better than the reflexive gloss.

(i) Porque nʉ' cu'táj hasta iganipáajtap cielu.
porque nʉ' Ø-cu't-aj hasta i-ca-ni-paat-ja-p cielu
because water A.3-rise-A.IRR until B.3-NEG-NEG.INCOMPL-last-REF-A.INCOMPL sky
Because the water will rise until the sky can't hold it. Noah:63

(ii) Pues, naganiténap oy naaẅní'c.
pues na-ca-ni-tena-p oy naaẅ-ni'c
well A.1.INCL-NEG-NEG.INCOMPL-stand-A.INCOMPL good earth-LOC
Well, one could no longer stand well on the earth. Noah:103

[18] There are no instances of contrasting examples where the reflexives discussed here are used without the reflexive prefix in the data. Only the verb *paat* occurs both with and without the reflexive *ni-*, but they appear to be two very different uses of the verb.

[19] This contrasts with suffix *-ja* that can fill the same slot on the verb. It indicates an argument being introduced in certain situations (Clark 1983:49).

The verb *concentrat* ‘gather.together’ has the lexical entry **do'** (x, [**gather'** (x, y)]). In (25) the semantic representation is **do'** (3, [**gather'** (3, 3)]) & **be.at'** (montaña, 3) [MR 1]. The actor and the undergoer of the verb are the same entity, so the number of macrorole arguments is reduced and the verb *concentrat* has S as the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-u*.[20]

Example (26) uses the reflexive in an idiomatic phrase using a construction borrowed from Spanish, *darse cuenta*.

(26) Pues, Dios nimójyʉp cuenta nat i-íjt.
pues Dios Ø-ni-moy-jʉ-p cuenta nat i-it-j
well God A.3-REFL-give/hit-REF-A.INCOMPL account how B.3-exist-B.COMPL
Well, God realized how it was. Noah:119

The idiomatic phrase *moy cuenta* may have lexical entry [**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [INGR **have'** (y, cuenta)]. The semantic representation of (26) is [**do'**(3 [Dios], Ø)] CAUSE [INGR **have'** (3 [Dios], cuenta)]. The actor and the undergoer of the verb are the same entity, so the number of macrorole arguments is reduced and the verb *moy* has S as the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p* on this independent verb.

5.3.5 Ijtʉ

The verb *ijtʉ* ‘to have’, shown in example (27), is better analyzed as the verb *it* ‘exist’ plus the suffix *-jʉ* which signals a referent or reciprocal relationship. That is, *itjʉ* should be understood not as "X has Y", but rather "Y thing of X exists" or "Y thing exists for X".

(27) Mʉʉt je' ca-íjtʉp ti
mʉʉt je' Ø-ca-it-jʉ-p ti
with/and 3.SG A.3-NEG.-exist-REF-A.INCOMPL something

icayámpay,
i-cay-am-p = ay
B.3-eat-A.IRR-A.INCOMPL=PFV1
And she wasn't going to have anything to eat, Candle:25.1

[20] Note also the locative predicate, which does not count toward M-transitivity.

The lexical entry of 'have' would be **have'** (x,y) and has two macroroles, like *aguep* in (28).

(28) "Jínap, yam na-aguépcanup mechc.
jinap yam na-aguep-ca-nu-p mechc
now PROX B.1.INCL-have-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL two
"Now, here we have two [people]. Noah:161

There are two arguments in the core of this clause: *na-* and *mechc* 'two'.

One would then expect the verb *ijtʉ* to have either actor or undergoer as the PSA, barring any valency changing mechanism. However, it does not. In (27) S is the PSA, seen in the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*, because it is independent. The lexical entry for 'exist' however, is **exist'** (x). It has one macrorole, and therefore is intransitive in (27). In this case, *ti icampay* 'something to eat' exists. Here, the suffix *-jʉ* makes the pronoun *je'* an indirect core argument. Alternatively, one could analyze the lexical entry for itjʉ as **have'** (x,y) [MR1]. However, consider the data in (29),

(29) ca-ítcʉjʉp túján netí,
Ø-ca-it-cʉ-jʉ-p tujan neti
A.3-NEG-exist-PL-REF-A.INCOMPL rifle nothing
and they don't have guns or anything, Jaguars:99.3

In (29) the plural suffix *-cʉ* occurs between *it* and *-jʉ*. If *ijtʉ* truly existed as a verb as Clark says in his glossary and vocabulario, then one would expect the verb in (29) to be *ca-ijtʉcʉp*. However, this is not the case. Therefore, itjʉ is best analyzed as "Y thing of X exists" or "Y thing exists for X".

5.4 Noun Incorporation

Verbs in Sayula Popoluca can undergo noun incorporation. As discussed in Section 4.2, noun incorporation moves an argument from the core into the nucleus. For example, *cam* 'cornfield' + *wät* 'make/do' = *camwat* 'make a cornfield', as in example (30). In such instances, an argument has been incorporated into the predicate. As a result, this reduces the number of core slots by one and an otherwise transitive verb is now intransitive.

(30) a. Camwátcap más yámay laj.
Ø-camwat-ca-p más yamay laj
A.3-make.cornfield-PL-A.INCOMPL more DEM.PROX side
They make their fields more to this side. Jaguars:94

b. T~~u~~ngawátcawu ju~~u~~jn."
t~~u~~n-ca-wat-ca-wu ju~~u~~jn
B.1EXCL.3-NEG-do/make-PL-A.COMPL fire
We didn't make a fire." Noah:123.2

c. Ináaš iwátp tu'c to'chwáy.
i-naaš i-wat-p tu'c to'ch-way
3.POSS-earth B.3-do/make-A.INCOMPL one girl-DIM
He made a girl from the earth. Noah:149

The semantic representation of the core in (30a) is **do'** (3, [**make.a.cornfield'** (3)]). There is only one argument on the verb, so the PSA is S. This is seen in the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*, because the verb is independent. Contrast this with (30b) and (30c), which are independent and show *wat* 'do' with two macrorole arguments, conforming to the lexical entry **do'** (x, [**make'** (x, y)]). In both of these, the actor is the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *t~~u~~n-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-wu* in (30b) and the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p* in (30c).

Example (31) also shows noun incorporation on an independent verb, with the verb *yošwat* 'work'.

(31) ni'c jeme yošwatámpay óyap
ni'c jeme Ø-yošwat-am-p=ay Ø-oya-p
because REL.PRON A.3-do.work-A.IRR-A.INCOMPL=PFV1 A.3-be.able.to-A.INCOMPL

inita'mpušu
i-ni-ta'mpuš-u-Ø
B.3-REFL-cut.the.foot-REF.-A.INCOMPL
because whoever works could cut his foot Candle:9.3

In (31) the verb incorporates the noun *yoš* 'work' into the nucleus and is intransitive. The PSA is S. This is seen in the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. The noun itself does not appear in my data, but appears in the glossary of Clark (1961:215). Example (31) also shows noun incorporation in the verb *tampuš* 'cut.a.foot'.

The verb *püs* ‘cut.with.a.machete’ incorporates the noun *ta'n* ‘foot’, and S is the PSA. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-Ø*, because the verb is dependent. However, the reflexive *ni-* also reduces the macrorole number, so it is not as strong an example of noun incorporation being the cause of S as the PSA.

One final example of noun incorporation is shown in example (32). Clark originally wrote the dependent verb *iwatmaj* 'he tries' as *iwat maj* (Clark 1961:95). I argue that *watmaj* is a single word showing incorporation of *wat* into the nucleus.

(32)

ja	iwátmaj	pa	inichí'jtɯwa'n		ni'c	ayé
ja	i-watmaj-Ø	pa	i-ni-chi't-jɯ-wa'n		ni'c	aye
in.vain	B.3-try-B.INCOMPL	so.that	B.3-REFL-take.out-REF-B.IRR		from	DEM.MED

cuyawéc.
cuy-awec
tree-branch
he tried in vain to get himself out of that branch. Candle:16.2

I analyze this word as *watmaj* which takes the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-Ø*, which shows S as the PSA. That is, it has intransitive morphology. If analyzed as *iwat maj*, the intransitive morphology would be unusual. *Wat* only marks the actor or undergoer as the PSA, as shown in (30b) and (30c) above, unless it utilizes incorporation or one of the valency changing affixes. As the verb *watmaj* has the morphology of a verb with S as the PSA, I claim that it is more likely that (32) is a case of noun incorporation than an exception to the pattern we have already seen.

5.5 Complex Clauses

As mentioned in Section 4.4, there are eleven possible nexus and juncture relationships that form complex sentences. In this section, I focus on those that occur within a Sayula Popoluca clause and are relevant to adding to the discussion of PSA marking on the verb. I am not concerned with sentence coordination or subordination. Nor am I generally concerned with clausal coordination, subordination, or cosubordination. Those

junctures typically depict transitivity and PSA selection according to the rules we have already discussed in Sections 5.2 to 5.4 and, with one exception, add no new insight. Here, I describe how transitivity is shown in the nuclear cosubordination, core subordination, core cosubordination, core coordination, and one case of clausal subordination in the data.

5.5.1 Nuclear Cosubordination

The morpheme *taac* serves as a linking marker between two verbs. It links a verb of motion with another verb describing the manner of the movement, as seen in (33). It indicates a nuclear cosubordinate relationship between the two verbs.

(33) ʉjtacyó'yp tu'c cajauná'.
Ø-ʉj tac yó'y-p tu'c cajau-na'
A.3-growl ACTIONRELATOR walk/go-A.INCOMPL one jaguar-DEF
A jaguar came growling. Jaguars:20

Example (33) has the semantic representation **do'** (3 [cajau], [**go'** (3 [cajau])]) ^ **do'** (3 [cajau], [**growl'** (3 [cajau])]). Both verbs share the same single macrorole argument, so *ʉjtaacyo'y* is intransitive and the PSA is S. This is seen in the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. In this section, I include tree diagrams to show that the two verbs in nuclear cosubordination are part of the same core and share the same macrorole arguments. Figure 18 shows the constituent and operator projection of (33).[21]

[21] In head-marking languages with arguments on the predicate, when there is an explicit coreferential argument, it is considered to be an extra-core argument and links back up to the clause, as seen in Figures 18, 20, and 21.

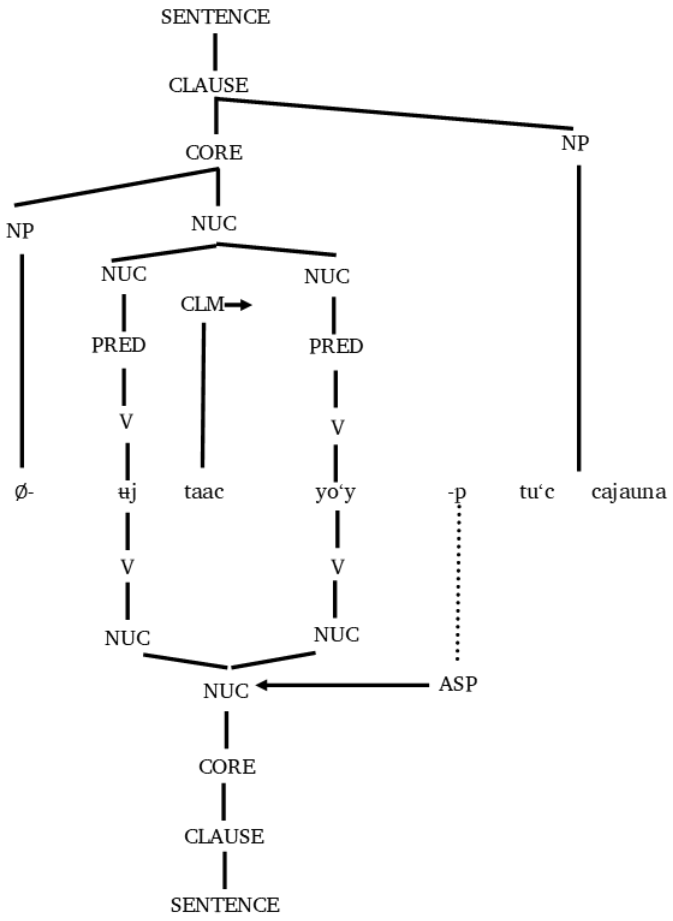

Figure 18. Constituent and operator projection of (33)

Figure 18 shows that the first verb in the construction is dependent upon the second for its aspect operator. Aspect is a nuclear level operator (Van Valin 2005:9). Analyzed on their own, there are the two separate verbs, *ɨj* 'growl' and *yo'yp* 'go/walk', with *taac* attached to potentially either verb, or even both. *Yo'yp* has the form of an intransitive third person independent incompletive verb. However, *ɨj* lacks the proper affixation for a finite verb in Sayula Popoluca. It requires either a person marker, such as *i-*, which would make it the intransitive third person dependent incompletive verb *i-ɨj*, or it requires an aspect marker to make it an intransitive third person independent verb, such as *ɨjp*. Therefore, the first verb in the construction, *ɨj*, is dependent upon the second, *yo'y*, for the aspect operator. Taken as a single word, they form a valid finite independent verb.

Linking two intransitive verbs is rather straightforward. Example (34) links the intransitive *min* ‘come’ and the transitive *wat* ‘do/make’.

(34) iwajtaacmíngaj,
i-wat-taac-min-ga-j
B.3-do/make ACTIONRELATOR come-PL-B.COMPL
they came doing it, Jaguars:80.2

The semantic representation of (34) is **do'** (3, [**come'** (3)]) ^ **do'** (3, Ø). The PSA in this clause is S, as seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-j*. Figure 19 shows the constituent and operator projection of (34).

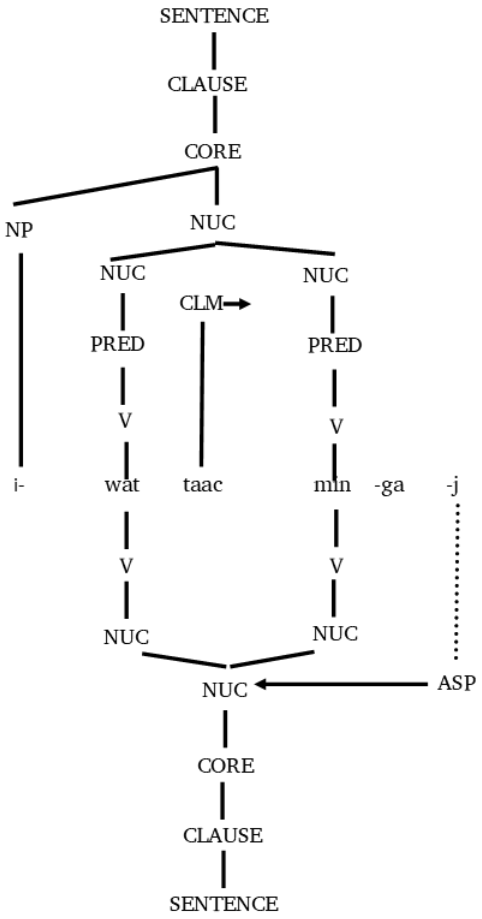

Figure 19. Constituent and operator projection of (34)

Figure 19 shows that one verb is dependent upon the other for the person. On its own, *mingaj* would require a pronominal prefix to be a valid form of a finite dependent verb.

Not every nuclear cosubordination requires *taac*, only those that link a verb of motion and the manner in which it was done. Example (35) shows nuclear cosubordination between two motion verbs without *taac*.

(35) Ica'tspíchin nʉ'.
i-ca'ts-pichin-Ø nʉ'
B.3-jump/throw-come.out/over-B.INCOMPL water
Water was thrown out. Noah:128

(35) has the semantic representation **do'** (3 [nʉ'], [**jump'** (3 [nʉ'])]) & INGR **do'** (3 [nʉ'], [**come.out'** (3 [nʉ'])]). There is only one macrorole argument, so it is intransitive, and therefore the PSA is S. This is seen in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix -Ø, forming a valid dependent verb. Figure 20 shows the constituent and operator projection of (35).

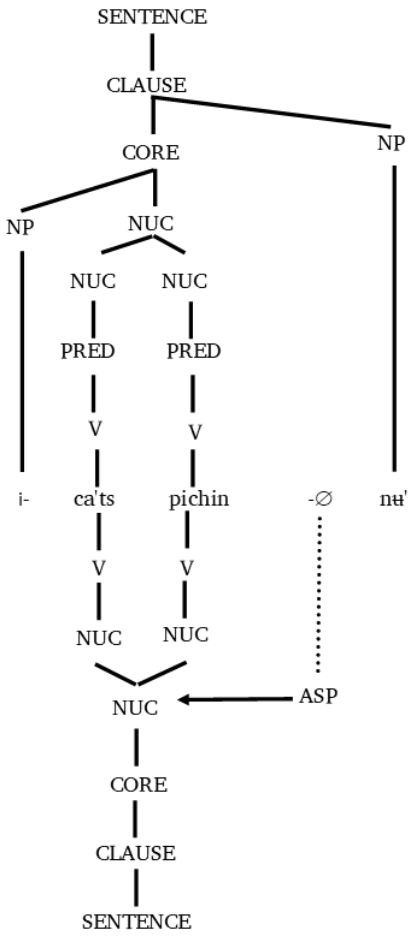

Figure 20. Constituent and operator projection of (35)

The verbs *ca'ts* ‘jump’ and *pichin* ‘throw’ link together to form a single nucleus in Figure 20. This is seen by the shared aspect operator -Ø.

Nuclear cosubordination also may occur with the causative *ac-*, as shown in (36).

(36)	Inúmp,	"Ʉʉ	tʉnga-acsu'cpíchináj	jʉjn."
	i-nʉm-p	ʉʉ	tʉn-ca-ac-su'c-pichin-aj	jʉjn
	B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	1.SG	B.1EXCL.3-NEG-CAUS-smell-come.out/over-A.IRR	fire
	He said, "I won't let the smell of the fire escape."			Noah:118

(36) has the semantic representation [**do'** (1, Ø)] CAUSE [**do'** (3 [jʉjn], [**be.smelled'** (3 [jʉjn])]) & INGR **do'** (3 [jʉjn], [**come.out'** (3 [*jʉjn*])])]. Both *suc* and *pichin* are joined together to form a single unit and share the same single macrorole argument — 3 [jʉjn]. The causative *ac-* adds a first person actor. The verb now has the actor as the PSA, as seen

in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *tʉn-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-aj*, forming a valid independent verb.[22] Figure 21 shows the constituent and operator projection of (36).

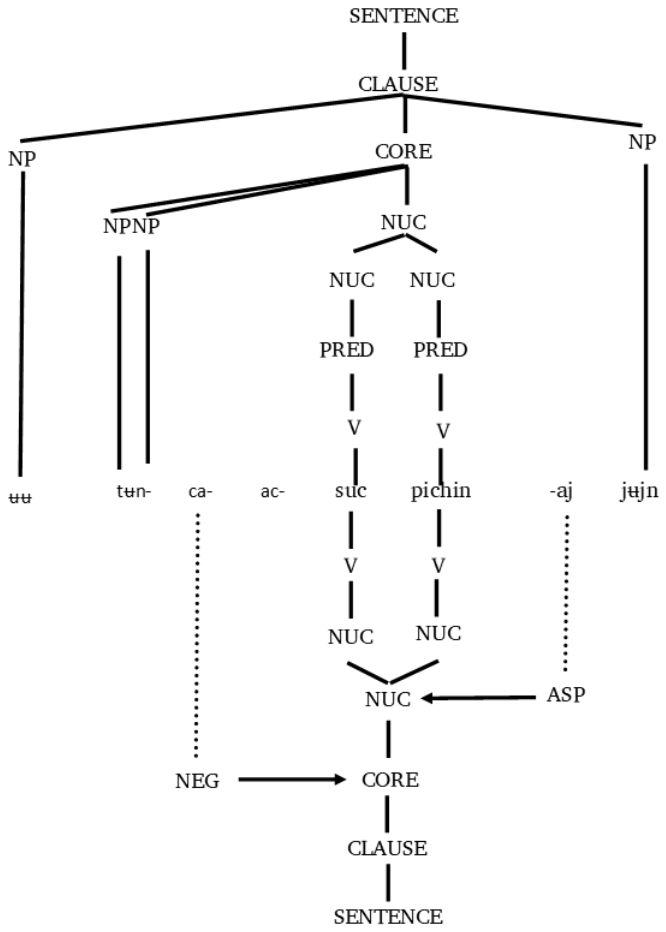

Figure 21. Constituent and operator projection of (36)

The verbs *süc* 'smell' and *pichin* 'throw' link together to form a single nucleus in Figure 21. This is seen by the shared aspect operator *-aj*.

5.5.2 Core Subordination

Sayula Popoluca uses core subordination for a couple of interclausal semantic relations. The first is directed perception, as shown in example (37).

[22] As the pronominal prefix *tʉn-* is likely two morphemes, which I have not chosen to separate, there are two NP lines connecting the pronominal prefix to the core.

(37) i-e'p mimp tu'c na'waywáy.
i-e'p-p Ø-min-p tu'c na'way-way
B.3-see-A.INCOMPL A.3-come-A.INCOMPL one old.man-DIM
he saw an old man coming. Noah:18.2

Example (37) has the semantic representation **see'** (3, 4 [**do'** (3 [na'way], [**come'** (3 [na'way])])]). Both verbs are independent. The clause *mimp tu'c na'waywáy* expresses the semantic content of what was perceived. The verb *min* 'come' has only one macrorole argument, third person [na'way], so it is intransitive and S is the PSA of that core, with the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*. The verb *e'p* 'see' has two macrorole arguments in its core, the third person and the core **do'** (3 [na'way], [**come'** (3 [na'way])]). The actor outranks the undergoer, so the PSA is the actor of that core, with the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*.

Secondly, Sayula Popoluca shows one action being done for the purpose of another by exercising core subordination. One example of a purpose relation is (38).

(38) M~~uu~~t ay~~úu~~ jáyuná' in~~ú~~mp ni'c je'
m~~uu~~t ay~~uu~~ jayu-na' i-n~~u~~m-p ni'c je'
with/and DEM.PROX man-DEF B.3-say-A.INCOMPL COMPLZ 3.SG

iwámp túmin m~~uu~~t n~~u~~šáj yošwátpay.
i-wan-p tumin m~~uu~~t Ø-n~~u~~š-aj Ø-yošwat-p=ay
B.3-want-A.INCOMPL money with/and A.3-go-A.IRR A.3-do.work-A.INCOMPL=PFV1
But this man said that he wanted money and would go work. Candle:10

In (38), *n~~u~~šáj yošwátpay* have a purpose relation. They are both independent. The clause has the semantic representation **want'** (3, [**do'** (3, [**work'** (3)])]) ^ DO [[**do'** (3, [**go'** (3)])] C ◊ CAUSE [**do'** (3, [**work'** (3)])]], where ◊ indicates possibilty. The man has to go somewhere, so that he might work. The verb *n~~u~~š* 'go' has one macrorole argument, third person, so it is intransitive and therefore S is the PSA of that core. This is shown with the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-aj*. The verb *yošwat* 'work' also has one macrorole argument, the third person, and the PSA of that core is S with the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*.

5.5.3 Core Coordination

Sayula Popoluca uses core coordination to show a psych-action semantic relation, as shown in (39). This indicates a mental attitude toward an action.

(39) po ayé iwámp iguicaygawá'n tacná'jat.
po aye i-wan-p igui-cay-ga-wa'n tac-na'-jat
but DEM.MED B.3-want-A.INCOMPL C.3.4-eat-PL-B.IRR dog-DEF-PL
but they want to eat the dogs. Jaguars:30.2

(39) has the semantic representation **want'** (3 [aye], [**do'** (3 [aye], [**eat'** (3 [aye], 4 [tac])])]). The two cores share an argument, which is indicative of a non-subordinate nexus in core junctures (Van Valin 2005:190). In this case, they share the third person argument. The dependent verb *cay* 'eat' has two macrorole arguments, third person [aye] and fourth person [tac], so it is transitive. The actor outranks the undergoer, so the actor is the PSA of that core, with the Set C pronominal prefix *igui-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix *-wa'n*. The independent verb *wan* 'want' has two macrorole arguments, the third person [aye] and the core **do'** (3 [aye], [**eat'** (3 [aye], 4 [tac])]). The actor outranks the undergoer, so the actor is the PSA of that core, with the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p*.

5.5.4 Core Cosubordination

Core cosubordinate in Sayula Popoluca can be used to describe the phase of an action, as seen in (40).[23]

(40) siguiátcau iyó'yga.
Ø-siguiat-ca-u i-yo'y-ga-Ø
A.3-continue-PL-A.COMPL B.3-walk/go-PL-B.INCOMPL
they continued walking. Jaguars:85.2

In (40), *siguiat* 'continue' acts as a semantic operator, even though it is an inflected independent verb. When a verb acts as a semantic operator in constructions like this, S is the PSA of its core. In this instance, this is seen in the combination of the Set A pronominal

[23] This could also be core coordination. I lack core-level operators which would help distinguish between the two.

prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-u*. This clause has the semantic representation KEEP **do'** (3, [**walk'** (3)]). There is only one macrorole argument in the semantic representation, so the verb *yo'y* is intransitive and the PSA of its core is S. This is shown in the combination of the Set B pronominal prefix *i-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix -Ø, because it is dependent.

Example (41) shows a phase relation using the transitive verb *yo'y* 'go'.

(41) Chúuchiu igui-acyó'y.
Ø-chuuchi-u igui-ac-yo'y-Ø
A.3-begin-A.COMPL C.3.4-CAUS-walk/go-B.INCOMPL
He started her walking. Noah:152

Note that in (41) the independent verb *chuuchi* 'begin' acts as a semantic operator and S is the PSA of its core with the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-u*. Example (41) has the semantic representation [INGR **do'** (3, Ø)] CAUSE [**do'** (4, [**walk'** (4)])]. Since there are two macrorole arguments with *yo'y* 'walk' and the actor outranks the undergoer, the actor is the PSA of its core, shown in the combination of the Set C pronominal prefix *igui-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix -Ø, because the verb is dependent.

5.5.5 Clausal Subordination

There is one important use of clausal subordination, which is seen in (42).

(42) cuandu oy iguimárau ni'c náščanupama'
cuandu oy igui-marau-Ø ni'c naš-ca-nu-p=ama'
when good C.3.4-hear-B.INCOMPL COMPLZ pass.by-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL=DEFV

aánimawájat.
aanima-wa-jat
dead-DIM-PL
when he heard that the dead were passing by. Candle:18.2

Example (42) has the semantic representation **hear'** (3, 4 [**do'** (3 [aanima], [**pass.by'** (3 [aanima])])]).[24, 25] Note the complementizer *ni'c*, which distinguishes this construction from (37) in Section 5.5.2. The complementizer links the subordinated clause up to the matrix clause rather than asymmetrically linking the clause to the core, and the subordinate clause here indicates indirect perception. Typically, a language can resolve asymmetrical linkage of a larger unit up to a smaller unit. This is done by extraposing the subordinate clause and linking it back up to the clause, which is preferred to an asymmetrical linkage (Van Valin 2005:199). This extraposition occurs in (42). While the subordinate clause is semantically an argument of the verb, it occurs syntactically outside the core. This is an instance of a mismatch between semantics and syntax. The verb *naš* 'pass by' has only one macrorole argument, third person [aanima], so it is intransitive and the PSA of its core is S. This is shown in the combination of the Set A pronominal prefix Ø- and the Set A aspect/mood suffix *-p* on this independent verb. This clause is subordinated to the clause with *marau* 'hear', and is coreferential with the fourth person argument on *marau* 'hear'. The dependent verb *marau* 'hear' has two macrorole arguments, the third person and the fourth person, which is coreferential with the core **do'** (3 [aanima], [**pass.by'** (3 [aanima])]). The actor outranks the undergoer, so the actor is the PSA of its core with the combination of the Set C pronominal prefix *igui-* and the Set B aspect/mood suffix -Ø.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, I argued that the PSA is shown morphologically in verbal morphology in Sayula Popoluca. The division between intransitive (S as the PSA) and transitive (actor or undergoer as the PSA) verbs follows from the number of macrorole arguments in the core of a clause. The choice between actor or undergoer as the PSA is governed by the person hierarchy in Sayula Popoluca. In Section 5.2, I discussed how PSA is shown in the combination of the pronominal prefixes and the aspect/mood suffixes. In Sections 5.3

[24] This 3 represents the single argument in the core of the verb *naš* 'pass.by'. It is part of a distinct core from the one with *marau* 'hear', and the third person argument on each of these cores is distinct from each other.

[25] This 3 also represents the single argument in the core of the verb *naš* 'pass.by'. It is part of a distinct core from the one with *marau* 'hear', and the third person argument on each of these cores is distinct from each other.

and 5.4 I discussed features that change the number of macrorole arguments or direct core arguments and how they affect PSA selection in the verbal morphology. The causative *ac-* and the associative *mu-* add an actor and an undergoer to the core, respectively. As such, an intransitive verb is transitivized using either of them. The given verb goes from having S as the PSA to the actor or undergoer as the PSA. The applicative *tu-*, while it promotes an element to the core, it does not increase the number of macrorole arguments. Therefore, the transitivity does not change. The lexical reflexive *ni-* indicates that the actor and undergoer on the verb are the same, and thus detransitivizes a verb. The given verb goes from the actor or undergoer as the PSA to S as the PSA. I also discussed the verb *ijtɨ* 'to have', because I believe it is actually an inflection of *it* 'be/exist'. Therefore, it would take intransitive morphology. Next, I described how noun incorporation moves a direct core argument into the nucleus and detransitivizes a verb. This shifts the PSA from the actor or undergoer to S. Lastly, in Section 5.5, I took the discussion from Sections 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 and applied it to complex clauses in my data.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

In this thesis I have analyzed part of the verbal morphology in Sayula Popoluca using Role and Reference Grammar, focusing on the pronominal prefixes and aspect mood suffixes. As stated in Section 5.2, there are three sets of pronominal prefixes and two sets of aspect/mood suffixes. The three sets of pronominal prefixes are shown in Table 12 and the two sets of aspect/mood suffixes are shown in Table 13. These tables are the same as Table 12 in Section 5.2.1 and Table 10 in Section 5.2.2, respectively.

Table 12. Three sets of person prefixes

Set A*		**Set B****		**Set C*****	
tʉ-	1.excl	tʉ-	1.excl	tʉ-	1.excl
		tʉn-	1.excl.3	tʉš-	1.excl.3
na-	1.incl	na-	1.incl	naš-	1.incl.3
mi-	2	in-	2	iš-	2.1
				iš-	2.3
Ø-	3	i-	3	igui-	3.4

*Used for independent intransitive verbs
**Used for independent transitive verbs with actor as the PSA and dependent intransitive verbs
***Used for independent transitive verbs with undergoer as the PSA and dependent transitive verbs

Table 13. Two sets of aspect/mood suffixes

	Set A*	**Set B****
Completive	-w, -Ø/-u, -wu	-j
Incompletive	-p	-Ø
Irrealis	-aj/-am	-wa'n

*Used for independent verbs and dependent transitive verbs with undergoer as the PSA
**Used for dependent verbs when they are intransitive or transitive with actor as the PSA

The privileged syntactic argument (PSA) of the core controls which pairing of these affixes appear on the verb, following Table 14, which is the same as Table 11 in Section 5.2.3.

Table 14. Combination of person prefixes and aspect/mood suffixes

PSA	**Pronominal Prefix**	**Aspect/Mood Suffix**
S, Independent	Set A	Set A
(nonexistent)	Set A	Set B
Actor, Independent	Set B	Set A
S, Dependent	Set B	Set B
Undergoer (Independent & Dependent)	Set C	Set A
Actor, Dependent	Set C	Set B

Verbs are inherently transitive or intransitive based on the semantic representation of the core. Intransitive verbs neutralize the distinction of the actor and undergoer macrorole arguments, meaning the intransitive verb takes the same pairing of pronominal prefix and aspect/mood suffix regardless of whether the actor or undergoer is the PSA.

For cores with transitive verbs, the argument with highest rank in Sayula Popoluca's person hierarchy in Figure 22 is the default PSA and controls verbal agreement, as discussed in Section 5.2.3. When the PSA is the actor, and thus maintains the hierarchy, it is a direct construction. When the undergoer is the PSA, it forms the inverse construction.

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > 4th person

Figure 22. Hierarchy of person in Sayula Popoluca

Furthermore, as discussed in Section 5.3, valency-changing affixes such as the causative *ac-* or the reflexive *ni-* increase or decrease the number of macrorole arguments in the core. This results in changing the PSA from or to S.

Finally, as described in Section 5.5, in complex clauses the PSA is determined by the semantic representation of these complex constructions and the person hierarchy as well. I did also note, however, that when an inflected verb in a complex clause acts as an operator, the PSA on that verb is S.

There are a few issues for further research. First, it would be important to determine if other languages which utilize the direct-inverse distinction have the highest ranking argument as the default PSA. It would also be worth researching whether an inflected verb in a complex clause acting as an operator has S as the PSA in other languages. Lastly, my analysis of the applicative *tu-* is based on very limited available data in the three texts used in this thesis. It would be helpful to study more data to confirm my analysis.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Outwitting the Jaguars

Jaguars:1

Po	jínap	tʉnchúuchiyáj	jatú'c.
po	jinap	tʉn-chuuchi-yaj	jatu'c
but	now	B.1EXCL.3-begin-A.IRR	another

And now I will begin another story.[1]

Jaguars:2

ʉʉjtsat	tʉtsúʉngau		tu'c	lugar	inʉ́'jy	Divicía	montaña.
ʉʉjtsat	tʉ-tsʉʉn-ga-u		tu'c	lugar	i-nʉ'jy	Divicía	montaña
1.PL	1.EXCL-be-PL-A.COMPL		one	place	3.POSS-name	Divicia	jungle

We lived in a place called Divicía, in the jungle.

Jaguars:3

Ijtʉnup	máyap	šíwit.	
Ø-it-jʉ-nu-p	may = ap	šiwit	
A.3-exist-REF-PFV2-A.INCOMPL	many=UNCERTAIN	year	

It was many years ago.

Jaguars:4.1

Mit	tʉnyá'u	mit	iwáy	Clemente	Gómez
mit	tʉn-ya'u	mit	i-way	Clemente	Gómez
with/and	1EXCL.POSS-husband	with/and	3.POSS-offspring	Clemente	Gómez

inʉ́'jy	mit	Pedro	Gómez
i-nʉ'jy	mit	Pedro	Gómez
3.POSS-name	with/and	Pedro	Gómez

And my husband was Pedro Gómez, and his son's name was Clemente Gómez;

Jaguars:4.2

ayé	armadillerujat.
aye	armadilleru-jat
DEM.MED	armadillo.hunter-PL

They were armadillo hunters.

Jaguars:5

Nʉʉjts	i-actángap.
nʉʉjts	i-actan-ga-p
armadillo	B.3-take.hold.of-PL-A.INCOMPL

They captured armadillos.

[1] Originally, Clark had jjatu'c, but I changed it to jatu'c, because I suspected a typo.

Jaguars:6

Mit	nú̈s̈cap	montaña.
mit	Ø-nüs̈-ca-p	montaña
with/and	A.3-go-PL-A.INCOMPL	jungle

And they went to the jungle

Jaguars:7

Mit	imunú̈s̈cap	itác.
mit	i-mu-nüs̈-ca-p	i-tac
with/and	B.3-ASSOC-go-PL-A.INCOMPL	3.POSS-dog

And they took their dogs

Jaguars:8

Seis	tacná'jat	iguimuyó'ygaj.
seis	tac-na'-jat	igui-mu-yo'y-ga-j
six	dog-DEF-PL	C.3.4-ASSOC-walk/go-PL-B.COMPL

They took with them six dogs.

Jaguars:9.1

Ijátcap	nüüjts
i-jat-ca-p	nüüjts
B.3-know.how-PL-A.INCOMPL	armadillo

They knew how to hunt armadillos

Jaguars:9.2

mit	ijátcap	yúujcu.
mit	i-jat-ca-p	yuujcu
with/and	B.3-know.how-PL-A.INCOMPL	tepesquintle

and they knew how to hunt tepesquintle.

Jaguars:10

Mechc	igui-actángaj:	nüüjts	mit	yúujcu.
mechc	igui-actan-ga-j	nüüjts	mit	yuujcu
two	C.3.4-take.hold.of-PL-B.COMPL	armadillo	with/and	tepesquintle

They caught two kinds of animals: armadillo and tepesquintle.

Jaguars:11.1

Bueno,	pues,	niconsentrátcüjüu	ayé	montaña
bueno	pues	Ø-ni-concentrat-cü-jü-u	aye	montaña
well	well	A.3-REFL-gather.together-PL-REF-A.COMPL	DEM.MED	jungle

Well, then, they gathered together in that jungle.

Jaguars:11.2

más que	machítiwájatu	imuyó'ygap.
más que	machiti-wa-jat=u	i-mu-yo'y-ga-p
more.than	machete-DIM-PL=LIMIT	B.3-ASSOC-walk/go-PL-A.INCOMPL

They took with them nothing more than machetes.

Jaguars:12.1

Icóygaj	jem,
i-cóy-ga-j	jem
B.3-arrive-PL-B.COMPL	DEIC.DIST

When they arrived there,

Jaguars:12.2
chúuchigau iguicazát tacná'jat.
Ø-chuuchi-ga-u igui-cazat tac-na'-jat
A.3-begin-PL-A.COMPL C.3.4-hunt dog-DEF-PL
the dogs began to hunt.
Jaguars:13
Nuujts túguygap icuevaní'jcat.
nuujts Ø-tuguy-ga-p i-cueva-ni'c-jat
armadillo A.3-enter-PL-A.INCOMPL 3.POSS-cave-LOC-PL
The armadillos entered their caves.
Jaguars:14
Jémama igui-agó'jcaj.
jem=ama igui-ac-o'c-ja-j
DEIC.DIST=DEFV C.3.4-CAUS-die-REF-B.COMPL
They hunted them there.
Jaguars:15
Mit jem ipíchijn.
mit jem i-pichin-j
with/and DEIC.DIST B.3-come.out/over-B.COMPL
And they [armadillos] came out of there.
Jaguars:16
I-actángaway mechc.
i-actan-ga-w=ay mechc
B.3-take.hold.of-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1 two
They captured two.
Jaguars:17
Imumínganup.
i-mu-min-ga-nu-p
B.3-ASSOC-come-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL
They were bringing them back.
Jaguars:18.1
Itsumdạcyó'yganup,
i-tsum-taac-yó'y-ca-nu-p
B.3-carry.on.the.back-ACTIONRELATOR-walk/go-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL
They were carrying them as they walked,
Jaguars:18.2
mit imachítiwájatu.
mit i-machiti-wa-jat=u
with/and B.3-machete-DIM-PL=LIMIT
and they had only their machetes.
Jaguars:19
Niwé'nu imáraugap ni'c yaaš tu'c.
niwé'nu i-marau-ga-p ni'c yaaš tu'c
then B.3-hear-PL-A.INCOMPL COMPLZ shout one
And then they heard the cry of a [jaguar].

Jaguars:20

ʉjtacyó'yp		tu'c	cajauná'.
Ø-ʉj tac yó'y-p		tu'c	cajau-na'
A.3-growl ACTIONRELATOR walk/go-A.INCOMPL		one	jaguar-DEF

A jaguar came growling.

Jaguars:21

Irodiátcanup	mam	jé'jat	itsúʉngaj.
i-rodiat-ga-nu-p	mam	je'jat	i-tsʉʉn-ga-j
B.3-encircle-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL	where	3.PL	B.3-be-PL-B.COMPL

The jaguars circled around their location.

Jaguars:22

Tacná'jat	ayoojʉ́yganup	iniseisi.
tac-na'-jat	Ø-ayoojʉy-ga-nu-p	ini-seis-i
dog-DEF-PL	A.3-howl-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL	???-six-???

The six dogs are now howling.

Jaguars:23.1

Igui-actángaj	jé'jat
igui-actan-ga-j	je'jat
C.3.4-take.hold.of-PL-B.COMPL	3.PL

When they took hold of the dogs

Jaguars:23.2

iguicujúpigaj
igui-cujupi-ga-j
C.3.4-tie.up-PL-B.COMPL
when they put them on a leash

Jaguars:23.3

imuyó'yganup	cujúpiyic	tacná'jat.
i-mu-yo'y-ga-nu-p	cujupi-yic	tac-na'-jat
B.3-ASSOC-walk/go-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL	tie.up-PTCP	dog-DEF-PL

they took the leashed dogs with them.

Jaguars:24

Imumínganupama.
i-mumin-ga-nu-p = ama
B.3-bring-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL=DEFV
They were bringing them back.

Jaguars:25

I-actantaacmínganup.
i-actan-taac-min-ga-nu-p
B.3-take.hold.of ACTIONRELATOR come-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL
They held onto them as they went.

Jaguars:26.1

Pos	niwé'nu	como	yágats	montaña,
pos	niwé'nu	como	yagats	montaña
well	then	as	far	jungle

Well, as they were far away in the jungle

Jaguars:26.2
mínganup.
Ø-min-ga-nu-p
A.3-come-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL
they were coming home.
Jaguars:27
Mit	yámay	cajauná'jat	imáraugap	ni'c
mit	yamay	cajau-na'-jat	i-marau-ga-p	ni'c
with/and	DEM.PROX	jaguar-DEF-PL	B.3-hear-PL-A.INCOMPL	COMPLZ

~~ur~~utstaacmímpey	cuyjúgum.
Ø-~~ur~~uts-taac-min-p = ey	cuyjuc-jugum
A.3-growl ACTIONRELATOR come-A.INCOMPL=also	forest-in

And they heard that those jaguars were also coming growling in the forest.
Jaguars:28.1
Iquí'chiway,	imuyó'ypay,	in~~ú~~mp,
i-quí'chiway	i-muyo'y-p = ay	i-n~~u~~m-p
3.POSS-son	B.3-take.with-A.INCOMPL=PFV1	B.3-say-A.INCOMPL

His son, whom he had taken with him, said,
Jaguars:28.2
"térey,	naščuščap	cajauná'.
terey	naščuš-ca-p	cajau-na'
papa	C.1INCL.3-finish-PL-A.INCOMPL	jaguar-DEF

"Papa, the jaguars will finish us off."
Jaguars:29
Tomó'ganu	naš mumíngap.
tom-o'c-ga-nu	naš-mu-min-ga-p
near-AUG-PL-PFV2	C.1INCL.3-ASSOC-come-PL-A.INCOMPL

They are getting close to us.
Jaguars:30.1
~~uu~~jtsat	naščacaygáj
~~uu~~jtsat	naš-ca-cay-ga-aj
1.PL	C.1INCL.3-NEG-eat-PL-A.IRR

They won't eat us
Jaguars:30.2
po	ayé	iwámp	iguicaygawá'n	tacná'jat.
po	aye	i-wan-p	igui-cay-ga-wa'n	tac-na'-jat
but	DEM.MED	B.3-want-A.INCOMPL	C.3.4-eat-PL-B.IRR	dog-DEF-PL

but they want to eat the dogs.
Jaguars:31
Jínap	ti	nawatcap?"
jinap	ti	na-wat-ca-p
now	what	B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.INCOMPL

Now, what will we do?"
Jaguars:32.1
"Pos,	netí,
pos	neti
well	nothing

[The father said,] "Well, nothing,

Jaguars:32.2
Te naščúščap yam,
te naš-cʉš-ca-p yam
if C.1INCL.3-finish-PL-A.INCOMPL PROX
If they are going to finish us off here,
Jaguars:32.3
ti nawátcap?"
ti na-wat-ca-p
what B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.INCOMPL
what shall we do?"
Jaguars:33.1
Inúmp,
i-nʉm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The son] said,
Jaguars:33.2
"térey, naščʉščáj cajauná'jat.
terey naš-cʉš-ca-j cajau-na'-jat
papa C.1INCL.3-finish-PL-A.IRR jaguar-DEF-PL
"Papa, the jaguars will finish us off.
Jaguars:34
Jínap ti nawátcap?
jinap ti na-wat-ca-p
now what B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.INCOMPL
Now what will we do?
Jaguars:35.1
Mit mechc iyó'yganu
mit mechc i-yo'y-ga-nu-Ø
with/and two B.3-walk/go-PL.-PFV2.-B.INCOMPL
And I know those two jaguars are coming
Jaguars:35.2
porque namárap ni'c ayʉj
porque na-marau-p ni'c ayʉj
because B.1.INCL-hear-A.INCOMPL COMPLZ DEM.PROX

ʉjtaacmíngap."
Ø-ʉj-taac-min-ga-p
A.3-growl ACTIONRELATOR come-PL-A.INCOMPL
because we hear them coming growling."
Jaguars:36.1
Inʉmp,
i-nʉm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The son] said,
Jaguars:36.2
"joo, po tʉnjáwip, térey, ayé valientejat."
joo po tʉn-jawi-p terey aye valiente-jat
yes but B.1EXCL.3-know-A.INCOMPL papa DEM.MED brave-PL
"Yes, but I know, Papa, [the jaguars] are brave."

Jaguars:37

Capútcap	ne	itéet	ne	je'.
Ø-ca-put-ca-p	ne	i-teet	ne	je'
A.3-NEG.-fear-PL-A.INCOMPL	neither	3.POSS-father	nor	3.SG

[The jaguars] do not fear either his father or him.

Jaguars:38.1

Inúmp,
i-num-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL

[The son] said,

Jaguars:38.2

"térey,	po	tunyijáwip	ni'c
terey	po	tun-nijawi-p	ni'c
papa	but	B.1EXCL.3-remember-A.INCOMPL	COMPLZ

naščamuyo'ywá'n	túјan.	
naš-ca-mu-yo'y-wa'n	tujan	
C.1INCL.3-NEG-ASSOC-walk/go-B.IRR	rifle	

"Papa, I remember that we did not bring a rifle.

Jaguars:39.1

Namuyo'ygap	mit	mismu	machítiná'y
na-mu-yo'y-ga-p	mit	mismu	machiti-na'y
B.1.INCL-ASSOC-walk/go-PL-A.INCOMPL	with/and	same	machete-DEF

We brought with us the same machete

Jaguars:39.2

naš-acpó'jca	cajauná'.
naš-ac-po'c-ja-Ø	cajau-na'
C.1INCL.3-CAUS-to.flee-REF.-B.INCOMPL	jaguar-DEF

and we will chase away the jaguar.

Jaguars:40

In-e'páj	pa	ju'n.
in-e'p-aj	pa	ju'n
B.2-see-A.IRR	so.that	soon

You will see soon that.[2]

Jaguars:41

Porque,	ayuj	natacná'jat	icúščap	ayé
porque	ayuj	na-tac-na'-jat	i-cuš-ca-p	aye
because	DEM.PROX	1INCL.POSS-dog-DEF-PL	B.3-finish-PL-A.INCOMPL	DEM.MED

iniseisi."
ini-seis-i
??? six ???

Otherwise, our dogs, they will finish off all six of them."

[2] In Clark (1961: 40), Clark wrote the verb as In-e'jáj here. I suspect it to be a typo, given the lack of accounting for e'j by lexical, morphological, or phonological means. He also glosses the word as 'you'll see'. E'j occurs nowhere else in any of the texts, but e'páj does.

Jaguars:42
"Bueno, pos jínap ti nawátcap, tʉnwáy?"
bueno pos jinap ti na-wat-ca-p tʉn-way
well then now what B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.INCOMPL 1EXCL.POSS-offspring
[The father said,] "Well, then what will we do now, my son?"

Jaguars:43.1
Inʉmp,
i-nʉm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
He [continued] saying,

Jaguars:43.2
"Pos, jínap ti nawatáj?
pos jinap ti na-wat-aj
well now what B.1.INCL-do/make-A.IRR
"Well now, what will we do?.

Jaguars:43.3
Ti más remediu?
ti más remediu
what more remedy
What other solution is there?

Jaguars:44.1
Chi't inmachiti
chi't in-machiti
take.out 2.POSS-machete
Take out your machete

Jaguars:44.2
mit ʉ tʉnjé'."
mit ʉ tʉn-je'
with/and 1.SG 1EXCL.POSS-3.SG
and I'll take out mine."

Jaguars:45
Asi es que ayé cajauná' iguimárau ni'c tomó'ganu
Asi es que aye cajau-na' igui-marau-Ø ni'c tom-o'c-ga-nu
So DEM.MED jaguar-DEF C.3.4-hear-B.INCOMPL COMPLZ near-AUG-PL-PFV2

imínga tacná'jat.
i-min-ga-Ø tac-na'-jat
B.3-come-PL.-B.INCOMPL dog-DEF-PL
Then that jaguar heard that the dogs were coming near.

Jaguars:46
Ayoojʉyó'jcanupama hasta itu'tsná'jat
Ø-ayoojʉy-o'c-ca-nu-p = ama hasta i-tu'ts-na'-jat
A.3-howl-AUG-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL=DEFV until 3.POSS-tail-DEF-PL

icómgau ipá'tcʉm.
i-com-ga-u i-pá'tcʉm
B.3-put-PL-A.COMPL 3.POSS-underneath
They howled a lot and put their tails under them.

Jaguars:47.1
In-é'p,
in-e'p-Ø
B.2-see-B.INCOMPL
You see,
Jaguars:47.2
iš̈ú'jcaway cájau.
i-s̈u'c-ja-w=ay cajau
B.3-smell-REF-A.COMPL=PFV1 jaguar
they had smelled jaguar.
Jaguars:48
Tomó'ganu imumíngap.
tom-o'c-ga-nu i-mu-min-ga-p
near-AUG-PL-PFV2 B.3-ASSOC-come-PL-A.INCOMPL
They were getting close to them.
Jaguars:49
Mit jé'jat púutcanupamaéy.
mit je'jat Ø-puut-ca-nu-p=ama=ey
with/and 3.PL A.3-fear-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL=DEFV=also
And they were also afraid.
Jaguars:50.1
Inúmp,
i-num-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The saon] said,
Jaguars:50.2
yam naš̈cúš̈cap natájcat mit úújtsatéy.
yam naš̈-cuš̈-ca-p na-tac-jat mit úújtsat=ey
PROX C.1INCL.3-finish-PL-A.INCOMPL 1INCL.POSS-dog-PL with/and 1.PL=also
"Here they will finish off us and our dogs.
Jaguars:51
Ti nawátcap?
ti na-wat-ca-p
what B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.INCOMPL
What will we do?"
Jaguars:52.1
Inúmp,
i-num-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
He said,
Jaguars:52.2
"Po u tun-acordátp ni'c inúmgap
po u tun-acordat-p ni'c i-num-ga-p
but 1.SG B.1EXCL.3-remember-A.INCOMPL COMPLZ B.3-say-PL-A.INCOMPL
"But I remember that they said [what to do]

Jaguars:52.3
ni'c cájau pa naẅcacayáj
ni'c cajau pa naẅ-ca-cay-aj
COMPLZ jaguar so.that C.1INCL.3-NEG-eat-A.IRR
so that the jaguars won't eat us.
Jaguars:52.4
ipu̇u̇tó'cp púsän cajauná'."
i-pu̇u̇t-o'c-p pusän cajau-na'
B.3-fear-AUG-A.INCOMPL iron jaguar-DEF
Jaguars fear iron."
Jaguars:53.1
Igui-actángaj,
igui-actan-ga-j
C.3.4-take.hold.of-PL-B.COMPL
When they took hold of their machetes,
Jaguars:53.2
iwáy, como más de valor que na'waywáy, inu̇́mp,
i-way como más de valor que na'way-way i-nu̇m-p
3.POSS-offspring as more of brave than old.man-DIM B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
his son, as he was braver than the old man, said,
Jaguars:53.3
"Térey, u̇u̇ tu̇n-apútiyáj cajauná'."
terey u̇u̇ tu̇n-apu̇ti-yaj cajau-na'
papa 1.SG B.1EXCL.3-frighten-A.IRR jaguar-DEF
"Papa, I will scare the jaguar."
Jaguars:54.1
Iguitújca tu'c nu̇'toouná' —
igui-tuc-ja-Ø tu'c nu̇'toou-na'
C.3.4-cross-REF.-B.INCOMPL one creek-DEF
When they crossed a creek —
Jaguars:54.2
ináẅcaj —
i-naẅ-ca-j
B.3-pass.by-PL-B.COMPL
when they passed over it —
Jaguars:54.3
inu̇́mp,
i-nu̇m-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
he said,
Jaguars:54.4
"Yam, puede ser pa, naẅcajapaatcájama,
yam puede ser pa naẅ-ca-ja-paat-ca-j=ama
PROX maybe C.1INCL.3-NEG-NEG.COMPL-find-PL-A.IRR=DEFV
"Here, maybe, they won't find us anymore,

Jaguars:54.5
ni'c nʉ'tǫuná natújcaway.
ni'c nʉ'toou-ná na-tuc-ja-w = ay
COMPLZ creek-DEF A.1.INCL-cross-REF-A.COMPL=PFV1
because we crossed the creek.
Jaguars:55
Cajašú'jcadáajcáj."
Ø-ca-ja-šu'c-cadaac-ca-aj
A.3-NEG.-NEG.COMPL.-smell-ext.-PL-A.IRR
They won't smell us anymore."
Jaguars:56.1
Ti!
ti
what
What!
Jaguars:56.2
Cašú'jcadáajcu!
ca-šu'c-cadaac-cu
NEG-smell-ext.-???
They didn't smell them!
Jaguars:57.1
Jem inʉšš cajauná',
jem i-nʉs-Ø cajau-na'
DEIC.DIST B.3go-B.INCOMPL jaguar-DEF
There the jaguar went,
Jaguars:57.2
itúcway nʉ'tóou.
i-tuc-w = ay nʉ'toou
B.3-cross-A.COMPL=PFV1 creek
he crossed the creek.
Jaguars:58.1
Inʉ́mp,
i-nʉm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The father] said,
Jaguars:58.2
"Jínapte tiama nawátcap?"
jinap-te ti = ama na-wat-ca-p
now-??? what=DEFV B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.INCOMPL
"Now what do we do?"
Jaguars:59.1
"Pues, jánga
pues janga
well let's.go
[The son said,] "Well, let's go,

Jaguars:59.2
úɯjtsat tɯnɯštaacnúšcap.
ɯɯjtsat tɯ-nɯš-taac-nɯš-ca-p
1.PL 1.EXCL-go ACTIONRELATOR go-PL-A.INCOMPL
we go along.
Jaguars:60.1
Cajauná' mimp,
cajau-na' Ø-min-p
jaguar-DEF A.3-come-A.INCOMPL
The jaguar comes,
Jaguars:60.2
úɯjtsat tɯyó'ygapéy.
ɯɯjtsat tɯ-yó'y-ga-p=ey
1.PL 1.EXCL-walk/go-PL-A.INCOMPL=also
we also walk.
Jaguars:61
Po, ja' nawátca ayu̱j operación."
po ja' na-wat-ca-Ø ayɯɯj operación
but let's B.1.INCL-do/make-PL.-B.INCOMPL DEM.PROX operation
Well, let's do this operation."
Jaguars:62
"Po ti nawatcáj?"
po ti na-wat-ca-j
but what B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.IRR
[The father said,] "But what will we do?"
Jaguars:63
"Mé'yna, térey."
me'yna terey
wait! papa
"Wait, Papa."
Jaguars:64.1
Iguipɯjc machiti,
igui-pɯc-j machiti
C.3.4-take-B.COMPL machete
When he took his machete,
Jaguars:64.2
inúmp,
i-nɯm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The father] said,
Jaguars:64.3
"Juápale, tigre!"
juapale tigre
scat! jaguar
"Scat, jaguar!"

Jaguars:65
Yenaméama iguiwát
yename = ama igui-wat-Ø
in.that.manner=DEFV C.3.4-do/make-B.INCOMPL
He did it that way [Informant scrapes two machetes together]
Jaguars:66.1
"Juápale, tigre!
juapale tigre
scat! jaguar
"Scat, jaguar!
Jaguars:66.2
Juápale, tigre!
juapale tigre
Scat jaguar!
Scat, jaguar!
Jaguars:67
Yʉjʉn incayáj!
yʉjʉn in-cay-aj
DEM.CONTR B.2-eat-A.IRR
This is what you'll eat!
Jaguars:68
Yam mi'n, cájau!
yam mi'n cajau
PROX come jaguar
Come here jaguar!
Jaguars:69
Yam, cájau!"
yam cajau
PROX jaguar
Here, jaguar!"
Jaguars:70
Po ayé machítiná'y i-acjʉnyaáš̈ap mʉ́gʉc.
po aye machiti-na'y i-acjʉnyaaš̈-ja-p mʉgʉc
but DEM.MED machete-DEF B.3-ring.metal-REF-A.INCOMPL hard
And he clashed those machete very loudly.
Jaguars:71.1
"Ándale, tigre,
ándale tigre
come.on! jaguar
"Come on, jaguar,
Jaguars:71.2
véntejama.
vénte-jama
come.on!-???
come on!"

Jaguars:72
Po mɯgɯc iguiwájt na'waywaýy.
po mɯgɯc igui-wat-j na'way-way
but hard C.3.4-do/make-B.COMPL old.man-DIM
But the old man did it loudly.
Jaguars:73
Po machítijat imuyó'ygap.
po machiti-jat i-mu-yo'y-ga-p
but machete-PL B.3-ASSOC-walk/go-PL-A.INCOMPL
But only machetes they carried with them.
Jaguars:74
Po machítijat, iméegap yɯnamé'.
po machiti-jat i-mee-ga-p yɯname'
but machete-PL B.3-sharpen-PL-A.INCOMPL like.this
But the machetes, they sharpened them like this [by clashing them together].
Jaguars:75
I-actumáraugap cajauná'.
i-ac-tu-marau-ga-p cajau-na'
B.3-CAUS-APPL-hear-PL-A.INCOMPL jaguar-DEF
They made the jaguar hear it.
Jaguars:76.1
Yájmay cajauná' imárapuc wéjen,
yajmay cajau-na' i-marau-p=uc wejen
DEM jaguar-DEF B.3-hear-A.INCOMPL=QUOT in.that.manner
That jaguar heard it,
Jaguars:76.2
cajasiguiájtau imugüssám.
Ø-ca-ja-siguiat-ja-u i-mugüssam
A.3-NEG.-NEG.COMPL-continue-REF-A.COMPL 3.POSS-back
[and] he didn't follow behind him anymore.
Jaguars:77.1
Jé'jat siguiátcap,
je'jat Ø-siguiat-ca-p
3.PL A.3-continue-PL-A.INCOMPL
They continued on,
Jaguars:77.2
yó'ygap,
Ø-yó'y-ga-p
A.3-walk/go-PL-A.INCOMPL
they walked,
Jaguars:77.3
yó'ygap.
Ø-yó'y-ga-p
A.3-walk/go-PL-A.INCOMPL
they walked.

Jaguars:78.1
Inúmp,
i-num-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The father] said,
Jaguars:78.2
"Mii in-actámp tac,
mii in-actan-p tac
2SG B.2-take.hold.of-A.INCOMPL dog
"You take the dogs,
Jaguars:78.3
mit uu tun-acyaašaj machíti.
mit uu tun-ac-yaaš-aj machiti
with/and 1.SG B.1EXCL.3-CAUS-shout-A.IRR machete
and I will clash the machetes.
Jaguars:79
Nacúščap cajauná' sin túјan."
na-cuš-ca-p cajau-na' sin tujan
B.1.INCL-finish-PL-A.INCOMPL jaguar-DEF without rifle
We will finish off the jaguar without a rifle."
Jaguars:80.1
Bueno pos, igui-actángaj wename',
bueno pos igui-actan-ga-j wename'
well well C.3.4-take.hold.of-PL-B.COMPL like
Well then, when they took them like that [making noise]
Jaguars:80.2
iwajtaacmíngaj,
i-wat-taac-min-ga-j
B.3-do/make ACTIONRELATOR come-PL-B.COMPL
they came doing it,
Jaguars:80.3
iwajtaacmíngaj.
i-wat-taac-min-ga-j
B.3-do/make ACTIONRELATOR come-PL-B.COMPL
they came doing it,
Jaguars:81
Po múgugama igui-acyáašama machíti.
po muguc=ama igui-acyaaš-Ø=ama machíti
but hard=DEFV C.3.4-sound-B.INCOMPL=DEFV machete
But they loudly clashed the machetes.
Jaguars:82
Combate ipútcap jé'jat, ayé lojwájat.
combate i-put-ca-p je'jat aye lojway-jat
fight B.3-fear-PL-A.INCOMPL 3.PL DEM.MED unfortunate.one-PL
They feared a fight, those poor jaguars.

Jaguars:83.1
Pues igui-actájn
pues igui-actan-j
well C.3.4-take.hold.of-B.COMPL
Well, then they took hold.[3]
Jaguars:83.2
cajauná' iguimárajw machíti,
cajau-na' igui-marau-j machíti
jaguar-DEF C.3.4-hear-B.COMPL machete
When the jaguar heard the machete
Jaguars:83.3
caja-ítpama netí ruidu.
Ø-ca-ja-it-p=ama neti ruidu
A.3-NEG-NEG.COMPL-exist-A.INCOMPL=DEFV nothing noise
there wasn't noise anymore.
Jaguars:84.1
Niwé'nu iguipítujc,
niwé'nu igui-pituc-j
then C.3.4-turn-B.COMPL
Then when he turned around,
Jaguars:84.2
jémama itájn cajauná'.
jem=ama i-tan-j cajau-na'
DEIC.DIST=DEFV B.3-stay-B.COMPL jaguar-DEF
there stayed the jaguar.
Jaguars:85.1
Mit jé'jat siguiátcau,
mit je'jat Ø-siguiat-ca-u
with/and 3.PL A.3-continue-PL-A.COMPL
And they continued,
Jaguars:85.2
siguiátcau iyó'yga.
Ø-siguiat-ca-u i-yo'y-ga-Ø
A.3-continue-PL-A.COMPL B.3-walk/go-PL-B.INCOMPL
they continued walking.
Jaguars:86
Tsu'jitó'ganu icóygaj.
tsu'jit-o'c-ca-nu i-cóy-ga-j
afternoon-AUG-PL-PFV2 B.3-arrive-PL-B.COMPL
It was late in the afternoon when they arrived at home.
Jaguars:87.1
Inúmp,
i-num-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The father] said,

[3] The meaning of this clause is unclear.

Jaguars:87.2
"Ay hija, injáwip ti tʉšjátcau?"
ay hija in-jawi-p ti tʉš-jat-ca-u
oh daughter B.2-know-A.INCOMPL what C.1EXCL.3.-happen.to-PL-A.COMPL
"Oh daughter, do you know what happened to us?"
Jaguars:88.1
"Tʉnyájap,
tʉn-na-ja-p
B.1EXCL.3-say-REF-A.INCOMPL
[She said], "I say,
Jaguars:88.2
pos, tiama išjátcau?
pos ti=ama iš-jat-ca-u
well what=DEFV C.2.3-happen.to-PL-A.COMPL
well, what happened to you?
Jaguars:89.1
Najšʉ́jwanu,
najšʉjw-anu
all.day-now
You've been gone all day,
Jaguars:89.2
cuchítimitnup."
Ø-cu-chitimit-nu-p
A.3-VBZR-dark-PFV2-A.INCOMPL
it's getting dark."
Jaguars:90.1
Inʉ́mp,
i-nʉm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
He said,
Jaguars:90.2
"Ti!
ti
what
"What!
Jaguars:90.3
tʉšcacʉšcawu!
tʉš-ca-cʉš-ca-wu
C.1EXCL.3.-NEG-finish-PL-A.COMPL
[The jaguars] didn't finish us!
Jaguars:91
Po jínapay šʉwat, tʉ-ó'jcanu, ʉ́jtsat tʉméchcat, mit
po jínapay šʉwat tʉ-o'c-ca-nu-Ø ʉjtsat tʉ-mechc-jat mit
but today 1.EXCL-die-PL-PFV2-B.INCOMPL 1.PL 1.EXCL-two-PL with/and

tʉnwáy.
tʉn-way
1EXCL.POSS-offspring
But today my son and I would have died.

Jaguars:92
Porque ayé montaña capún túguyp.
porque aye montaña capun Ø-tuguy-p
because DEM.MED jungle no.one A.3-enter-A.INCOMPL
Because no one usually enters that jungle.
Jaguars:93
Petapaná'jat catúguygap hasta jem.
petapa-na'-jat Ø-ca-tuguy-ga-p hasta jem
Petapa-DEF-PL A.3-NEG-enter-PL-A.INCOMPL until DEIC.DIST
The people of Petapa don't go in that far.
Jaguars:94
Camwátcap más yámay laj.
Ø-camwat-ca-p más yamay laj
A.3-make.cornfield-PL-A.INCOMPL more DEM.PROX side
They make their fields more to this side.
Jaguars:95.1
Po újtsat por ambición de anímaatwájat, mit tuntájcat,
po ujtsat por ambición de animaat-wa-jat mit tun-tac-jat
but 1.PL because.of.ambicion of animal-DIM-PL with/and 1EXCL.POSS-dog-PL
But we because of our ambition for animals, with our dogs,
Jaguars:95.2
ayúj ipújcap ayúj nuujts
ayuj i-puc-ja-p ayuj nuujts
DEM.PROX B.3-take-REF-A.INCOMPL DEM.PROX armadillo
they catch these armadillos
Jaguars:95.3
mit it ti tušrecibiátca.
mit it ti tuš-recibiat-ca-Ø
with/and exist what C.1EXCL.3.-receive-PL-B.INCOMPL
and we have to get them.
Jaguars:96.1
Tu-óygau jínap montaña
tu-oy-ga-u jinap montaña
1.EXCL-walk/go\PST-PL-A.COMPL now jungle
We went today to the jungle.
Jaguars:96.2
pues de manera, te tunga-aguítcawu valor,
pues de manera te tun-ga-aguit-ca-wu valor
well then if B.1EXCL.3-NEG-have-PL-A.COMPL bravery
Well then, if we hadn't been brave,
Jaguars:96.3
ujtsat tuščúščawate' ayé cajauná'.
ujtsat tuš-cúš-ca-w=ate' aye cajau-na'
1.PL C.1EXCL.3.-finish-PL-A.COMPL=COND DEM.MED jaguar-DEF
those jaguars would have finished us off.

Jaguars:97.1
Po como valor sobre todo,
po como valor sobre todo
but as bravery above all
But as bravery is above all things,
Jaguars:97.2
tun-acpó'jcau mit machíti,
tun-ac-po'c-ja-u mit machiti
B.1EXCL.3-CAUS-to.flee-REF-A.COMPL with/and machete
we chased them with machetes,
Jaguars:97.3
tunméegajau.
tun-mee-ga-ja-u
B.1EXCL.3-sharpen-PL-REF-A.COMPL
and we clashed [the machetes].
Jaguars:98
Tun-actumáraugap machítiná'y."
tun-ac-tu-marau-ga-p machiti-na'y
B.1EXCL.3-CAUS-APPL-hear-PL-A.INCOMPL machete-DEF
We made them hear the machetes."
Jaguars:99.1
Pa jemní'c tun-ampiugúšau
pa jemni'c tun-ampiu-cuš-ja-u
for that.reason B.1EXCL.3-tell-PL.OBJ.SG.SBJ.-REF-A.COMPL
[Narrator:] For that reason I tell this story to you.
Jaguars:99.2
para tajutím inwájat prowijó'jcat,
para tajutim in-way-jat prowij-o'c-jat
so.that when 2.POSS-offspring-PL poor-AUG-PL
So when your children are very poor,
Jaguars:99.3
ca-ítcujup túјan netí,
Ø-ca-it-cu-ju-p tujan neti
A.3-NEG-exist-PL-REF-A.INCOMPL rifle nothing
and they don't have guns or anything,
Jaguars:99.4
ma muyó'yga machíti,
ma mu-yo'y-ga machiti
should ASSOC-walk/go-PL machete
they should take machetes with them,
Jaguars:99.5
mit ma gapúutcawit.
mit ma ca-puut-ca-wit
with/and should NEG-fear-PL-NEG.IMPV
and they shouldn't be afraid.

Jaguars:100.1
Catíatu iguigajátujyu,
cati=atu igui-ca-jat-ujyu
nothing=again C.3.4-NEG-happen.to-???
Nothing happened to them,
Jaguars:100.2
más que ipó'jc cajauná'.
más que i-po'c-j cajau-na'
more.than B.3-to.flee-B.COMPL jaguar-DEF
except that the jaguar fled.
Jaguars:101
In-é'p ni'c cájau ipúutpay machíti.
in-e'p-p ni'c cajau i-puut-p=ay machíti
B.2-see-A.INCOMPL COMPLZ jaguar B.3-fear-A.INCOMPL=PFV1 machete
You see that jaguars fear machetes.
Jaguars:102.1
Jémujyu itájn ayé cuentu,
jem-ujyu i-tan-j aye cuentu,
DEIC.DIST-??? B.3-stay-B.COMPL DEM.MED story
There ends that story.
Jaguars:102.2
po ayé cajé cuentu.
po aye caje cuentu
but DEM.MED it.is.not story
but that isn't a story.
Jaguars:102.3
ayé iyacs̈tá'cway,
aye iyacs̈ta'cway
DEM.MED it.is.true
That's the truth,
Jaguars:102.4
i-óygaj jé'jat mit tunyá'u cumáaš̈an Pedro
i-oy-ga-j je'jat mit tun-ya'u cumaaš̈an Pedro
B.3-walk/go\PST-PL-B.COMPL 3.PL with/and 1EXCL.POSS-husband deceased Pedro
Gómez.
Gómez
Gómez
when they went with my late husband Pedro Gómez.

APPENDIX B

Candle Lighting

Candle:1

Ámbanu	jáyuná'jat	jeme	tsúungaway	yam	Sayula
ambanu	jayu-na'-jat	jeme	Ø-tsuun-ga-w = ay	yam	Sayula
old	man-DEF-PL	REL.PRON	A.3-be-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1	PROX	Sayula

ítcujuu	tu'c	creencia	ni'c	cada	jáyu	itp
Ø-it-cu-ju-u	tu'c	creencia	ni'c	cada	jayu	Ø-it-p
A.3-exist-PL-REF-A.COMPL	one	belief	COMPLZ	each	man	A.3-exist-A.INCOMPL

inušwá'n	iguitá'cs	i-áanima.
i-nuš-wa'n	igui-ta'cs-Ø	i-aanima
B.3-go-B.IRR	C.3.4-keep.vigil.over-B.INCOMPL	3.POSS-dead

The old men who lived here in Sayula had a belief that each man has to go light a candle[1] for his dead loved-ones.

Candle:2

Muut	ayé	jáyu	jeme	nušámpay
muut	aye	jayu	jeme	Ø-nuš-am-p = ay
with/and	DEM.MED	man	REL.PRON	A.3-go-A.IRR-A.INCOMPL=PFV1

tá'cspay	itp	iguimunušwá'n	tá'csan,
Ø-ta'cs-p = ay	Ø-it-p	igui-mu-nuš-wa'n	ta'csan
A.3-keep.vigil-A.INCOMPL=PFV1	A.3-exist-A.INCOMPL	C.3.4-ASSOC-go-B.IRR	candle

máašanúun,	cuypís,	no'y,	muut	mun.
maašanuun	cuypis	no'y	muut	mun
bread	yucca	tamale	with/and	sweet.potato

And thae man who goes to light candles has to take candles, bread, yucca, tamale, and sweet potatoes.

Candle:3

Po,	itw	tu'c	jáyuná'.
po	Ø-it-w	tu'c	jayu-na'
but	A.3-exist-A.COMPL	one	man-DEF

But, there was once a man

[1] This is probably better translated as "The old men who lived here in Sayula had a belief that each man has to go *keep vigil over* his dead. However, I have retained the free translation "light a candle" to retain the connection to the title.

Candle:4

Igawánu	iguicupʉcwá'n	de	ayé	cosajat	pa	inʉcs̈wá'n
i-ca-wan-u	igui-cupʉc-wa'n	de	aye	cosa-jat	pa	i-nʉcs̈-wa'n
B.3-NEG-want-A.COMPL	C.3.4-believe-B.IRR	of	DEM.MED	thing-PL	so.that	B.3-go-B.IRR

tá'cs̈pay.
Ø-ta'cs̈-p = ay
A.3-keep.vigil-A.INCOMPL=PFV1

He didn't want to believe that he should light a candle.

Candle:5.1

Je'	inʉ́mp	ni'c	ca-óyap	inʉs̈
je'	i-nʉm-p	ni'c	Ø-ca-oya-p	i-nʉs̈-Ø
3.SG	B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	COMPLZ	A.3-NEG.-be.able.to-A.INCOMPL	B.3-go-B.INCOMPL

tá'cs̈pay,
Ø-ta'cs̈-p = ay
A.3-keep.vigil-A.INCOMPL=PFV1

He said that he couldn't go light a candle,

Candle:5.2

ni'c	je'	cayp	mʉʉt	por fuerza	itp
ni'c	je'	Ø-cay-p	mʉʉt	por fuerza	Ø-it-p
because	3.SG	A.3-eat-A.INCOMPL	with/and	must	A.3-exist-A.INCOMPL

iyos̈watwá'n.
i-yos̈wat-wa'n
B.3-do.work-B.IRR

because he eats and must work.

Candle:6

Mʉʉt	iwaywájat	iguinʉ́mgajap	ni'c	nʉs̈	ma
mʉʉt	i-way-wa-jat	igui-nʉm-ca-ja-p	ni'c	nʉs̈	ma
with/and	3.POSS-offspring-DIM-PL	C.3.4-say-PL-REF-A.INCOMPL	COMPLZ	go	should

ta'cs̈ itó's̈ay.
ta'cs̈ i-to's̈ay
keep.vigil 3.POSS-wife

But his children told him that he should go light a candle for his wife.

Candle:7.1

Mʉʉt	ayʉ́ʉ	jáyuná'	inʉmgʉ́s̈au	ayé
mʉʉt	ayʉʉ	jayu-na'	i-nʉm-cʉ́s̈-ja-u	aye
with/and	DEM.PROX	man-DEF	B.3-say-PL.OBJ.SG.SBJ.-REF-A.COMPL	DEM.MED

yáwaywájat	ni'c	je'	ca-íjtʉp	túmin
yaway-wa-jat	ni'c	je'	Ø-ca-it-jʉ-p	tumin
child-DIM-PL	COMPLZ	3.SG	A.3-NEG.-exist-REF-A.INCOMPL	money

But this man told the kids that he didn't have money

Candle:7.2

mu̱u̱t	itp	ti	inu̱šwá'n	yošwátpay
mu̱u̱t	Ø-it-p	ti	i-nu̱š-wa'n	Ø-yošwat-p = ay
with/and	A.3-exist-A.INCOMPL	something	B.3-go-B.IRR	A.3-do.work-A.INCOMPL=PFV1

and he had to go work

Candle:7.3

ni'c	je'	cayp	mu̱u̱t	itp	iyošwatwá'n.
ni'c	je'	Ø-cay-p	mu̱u̱t	Ø-it-p	i-yošwat-wa'n
because	3.SG	A.3-eat-A.INCOMPL	with/and	A.3-exist-A.INCOMPL	B.3-do.work-B.IRR

because he eats and has to work.

Candle:8

Po	to'chwájat	ipó'ngau	itéejtat.	
po	to'chway-jat	i-po'n-ca-u	i-teet-jat	
but	daughter-PL	B.3-respond.to-PL-A.COMPL	3.POSS-father-PL	

But the little girls responded to their father.

Candle:9.1

Inu̱mgajau	ni'c,	
i-nu̱m-ca-ja-u	ni'c	
B.3-say-PL-REF-A.COMPL	COMPLZ	

They said to him,

Candle:9.2

"Jínap	ca-óy	nayošwátwá'n,	
jinap	ca-oy	na-yošwat-wa'n	
now	NEG-good	B.1.INCL-do.work-B.IRR	

"Today is not a good day for us to work,

Candle:9.3

ni'c	jeme	yošwatámpay	óyap	
ni'c	jeme	Ø-yošwat-am-p = ay	Ø-oya-p	
because	REL.PRON	A.3-do.work-A.IRR-A.INCOMPL=PFV1	A.3-be.able.to-A.INCOMPL	

inita'mpušu̱	
i-ni-ta'mpuš-u̱-Ø	
B.3-REFL-cut.the.foot-REF.-A.INCOMPL	

because whoever works could cut his foot

Candle:9.4

o	iguijátp	jatú'c	cosa."
o	igui-ját-p	jatu'c	cosa
or	C.3.4-happen.to-A.INCOMPL	another	thing

or something else will happend to him."

Candle:10

Mu̱u̱t	ayúu̱	jáyuná'	inúmp	ni'c	je'	iwámp	
mu̱u̱t	ayu̱u̱	jayu-na'	i-nu̱m-p	ni'c	je'	i-wan-p	
with/and	DEM.PROX	man-DEF	B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	COMPLZ	3.SG	B.3-want-A.INCOMPL	

túmin	mu̱u̱t	nu̱šáj	yošwátpay.
tumin	mu̱u̱t	Ø-nu̱š-aj	Ø-yošwat-p = ay
money	with/and	A.3-go-A.IRR	A.3-do.work-A.INCOMPL=PFV1

But this man said that he wanted money and would go work.

Candle:11.1
Pos igui-actájn,
pos igui-actan-j
well C.3.4-take.hold.of-B.COMPL
Well, when he (?),[2]

Candle:11.2
ipúcw imachíiti muut nucsë yošwátpay.
i-puc-w i-machiiti muut nucsë Ø-yošwat-p=ay
B.3-take-A.COMPL 3.POSS-machete with/and go A.3-do.work-A.INCOMPL=PFV1
he took his machete and went to work.

Candle:12.1
Muut icójy cuyjúgum,
muut i-coy-j cuyjuc-jugum
with/and B.3-arrive-B.COMPL forest-in
And when he arrived at the forest,

Candle:12.2
i-íš tu'c cuyná' ni'c íjtuu tu'c i-awécná' muut
i-iš tu'c cujy-na' ni'c Ø-ijtu-u tu'c i-awec-na' muut
B.3-see;PST one tree-DEF COMPLZ A.3-have-A.COMPL one 3.POSS-branch-DEF with/and

tú'tsic.
tu'ts-ic
dry.up-PTCP
he saw a tree that had a branch that was dried up.

Candle:13.1
Pos, ayúu jáyuná', igui-íš ni'c tú'tsic cuy-awéc,
pos ayuu jayu-na' igui-iš-Ø ni'c tu'ts-ic cuy-awec
well DEM.PROX man-DEF C.3.4-see;PST-B.INCOMPL COMPLZ dry.up-PTCP tree-branch
Well, this man, when he saw that the branch was dried up,

Candle:13.2
itucú't ayé cujy,
i-tucu't-Ø aye cujy
B.3-climb-B.INCOMPL DEM.MED tree
he climbed up the tree,

Candle:13.3
pa iguipuštújcawá'nate' i-awéc de ayé cujy.
pa igui-puštuc-ja-wa'n=ate' i-awec de aye cujy
so.that C.3.4-cut.off-REF-B.IRR=COND 3.POSS-branch of DEM.MED tree
so that he might cut the branch from the tree.

Candle:14.1
Po imóypnajate' máctašp puš,
po i-moy-p-na-aj=ate' mactašp puš
but B.3-give/hit-A.INCOMPL-REPET-A.IRR=COND four cut.with.machete
But he was ready to chop for the fourth time,

[2] The meaning of this verb here is unclear.

Candle:14.2

cuandu	oy	igui-é'p	natmó'tway	ayé	cuy-awéc.
cuandu	oy	igui-e'p-Ø	Ø-natmo't-w = ay	aye	cuy-awec
when	good	C.3.4-see-B.INCOMPL	A.3-break-A.COMPL=PFV1	DEM.MED	tree-branch

when he saw that the branch had split.

Candle:15

Mu~~u~~t	oy	iguijáwi	cutániway	en	ayé
mu~~u~~t	oy	igui-jawi-Ø	Ø-cutani-w = ay	en	aye
with/and	good	C.3.4-know-B.INCOMPL	A.3-be.stuck-A.COMPL=PFV1	in/on	DEM.MED

cujy	mam	iwé'jc.
cujy	mam	i-we'c-j
tree	where	B.3-split-B.COMPL

And he realized he was stuck in that tree where it had split.

Candle:16.1

Pos,	ayú~~u~~	iguijáwi	ni'c	tsú~~u~~nanup	
pos	ayu~~u~~	igui-jawi-Ø	ni'c	Ø-tsu~~u~~na-nu-p	
well	DEM.PROX	C.3.4-know-B.INCOMPL	COMPLZ	A.3-be-PFV2-A.INCOMPL	

cutániyic,		
cutani-yic		
be.stuck-PTCP		

Well, when the man knew that he was stuck,

Candle:16.2

ja	iwátmaj	pa	inichí'jtu~~u~~wa'n		ni'c	ayé
ja	i-watmaj-Ø	pa	i-ni-chi't-ju~~u~~-wa'n		ni'c	aye
in.vain	B.3-try-B.INCOMPL	so.that	B.3-REFL-take.out-REF-B.IRR		from	DEM.MED

cuyawéc.		
cuy-awec		
tree-branch		

he tried in vain to get himself out of that branch.

Candle:17

Po	pa	ayé	cóypamaéy	hora	pa
po	pa	aye	Ø-coy-p = ama = ey	hora	pa
but	then	DEM.MED	A.3-arrive-A.INCOMPL=DEFV=also	hour/time	for

ipíchingawá'n	nu'pú~~j~~u~~n~~	áanimawájat	jeme	
i-pichin-ca-wa'n	nu'pu~~j~~u~~n~~	aanima-wa-jat	jeme	
B.3-come.out/over-PL-B.IRR	all	dead-DIM-PL	REL.PRON	

tsú~~u~~ngapay	nípic	campu santu.
Ø-tsu~~u~~n-ga-p = ay	nip-ic	campu santu
A.3-be-PL-A.INCOMPL=PFV1	bury-PTCP	graveyard

But then the hour arrived for all the dead who were buried in the graveyard to come out.

Candle:18.1

Pos,	cajécu	itsúuna	ni'c	ayé	cujy
pos	Ø-ca-jec-u	i-tsuuna-Ø	ni'c	aye	cujy
well	A.3-NEG.-delay-A.COMPL	B.3-be-B.INCOMPL	COMPLZ	DEM.MED	tree

Well, he wasn't in that tree long

Candle:18.2

cuandu	oy	iguimárau	ni'c	näšcanupama'
cuandu	oy	igui-marau-Ø	ni'c	naš-ca-nu-p=ama'
when	good	C.3.4-hear-B.INCOMPL	COMPLZ	pass.by-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL=DEFV

aánimawájat.
aanima-wa-jat
dead-DIM-PL

when he heard that the dead were passing by.

Candle:19.1

Muut	tu'c	inúm	de	áanimawájat,
muut	tu'c	i-núm-Ø	de	aanima-wa-jat
with/and	one	B.3-say-B.INCOMPL	of	dead-DIM-PL

And one of the the dead spoke.

Candle:19.2

"uu	tunmunúšp	de	cáyan	no'y	máašanún	muut	mayó'c
uu	tun-mu-nuš-p	de	cayan	no'y	maašanun	muut	mayo'c
1.SG	B.1EXCL.3-ASSOC-go-A.INCOMPL	of	food	tamale	bread	with/and	many

cosajat."
cosa-jat
thing-PL

"I am taking with me food: tamales, bread, and many things."

Candle:20.1

Muut	jatú'c	inúmp	
muut	jatu'c	i-num-p	
with/and	another	B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	

And another said

Candle:20.2

ni'c	je'	imunúšp	chicúulat	máašanúun	muut	japúut
ni'c	je'	i-mu-nuš-p	chicuulat	maašanuun	muut	japuut
COMPLZ	3.SG	B.3-ASSOC-go-A.INCOMPL	chocolate	bread	with/and	the.rest

cosawájat.
cosa-wa-jat
thing-DIM-PL

that he is taking chocolate, bread, and other things.

Candle:21

Muut	ayúu	jáyu	imárau	ni'c	nu'púju	áanimawájat	
muut	ayuu	jayu	i-marau-u	ni'c	nu'puju	aanima-wa-jat	
with/and	DEM.PROX	man	B.3-hear-A.COMPL	COMPLZ	all	dead-DIM-PL	

imunúšcap icáyajnat.
i-mu-nuš-ca-p i-cayan-jat
B.3-ASSOC-go-PL-A.INCOMPL 3.POSS-food-PL
And the man heard that all the dead were taking their food.

Candle:22.1

Po como itó'šay ó'guiganuéy,
po como i-to'šay ó'c-cu-ic-anu=ey
but as 3.POSS-wife die-???-PTCP-PFV2=also
But as his wife was also dead,

Candle:22.2

oy iguimárau ni'c cotsp hasta último.
oy igui-marau-Ø ni'c Ø-cots-p hasta último
good C.3.4-hear-B.INCOMPL COMPLZ A.3-speak-A.INCOMPL until last
he heard that she was speaking last of all.

Candle:23

Muut inúmp ni'c je' igamunúšp netí de
muut i-num-p ni'c je' i-ca-mu-nuš-p neti de
with/and B.3-say-A.INCOMPL COMPLZ 3.SG B.3-NEG-ASSOC-go-A.INCOMPL nothing of

cáyan.
cayan
food
And she said that she did not take any food with her.

Candle:24

Solo imunúšp tú'gu ca'cwáy.
solo i-mu-nuš-p tu'c=u ca'c-way
only B.3-ASSOC-go-A.INCOMPL one=LIMIT basket-DIM
She only carried a little basket.

Candle:25.1

Muut je' ca-íjtup ti
muut je' Ø-ca-it-ju-p ti
with/and 3.SG A.3-NEG.-exist-REF-A.INCOMPL something

icayámpay,
i-cay-am-p=ay
B.3-eat-A.IRR-A.INCOMPL=PFV1
And she wasn't going to have anything to eat,

Candle:25.2

ni'c iná'u igamóyu netí.
ni'c i-na'u i-ca-moy-u neti
COMPLZ 3.POSS-husband B.3-NEG-give/hit-A.COMPL nothing
because her husband didn't give her anything.

Candle:26

Muut ayúu jáyuná' tsúunapay cutániyic cuyní'c
muut ayuu jayu-na' Ø-tsuuna-p=ay cutani-yic cuy-ni'c
with/and DEM.PROX man-DEF A.3-be-A.INCOMPL=PFV1 to.be.stuck-PTCP tree-LOC

imárauama'		ni'c	iyacs̈ta'cway	ipíchinga		
i-marau-u = ama'		ni'c	iyacs̈ta'cway	i-pichin-ca-Ø		
B.3-hear-A.COMPL=DEFV		COMPLZ	it.is.true	B.3-come.out/over-PL.-B.INCOMPL		

áanimawájat	en	ayé	s̈u̱jw,	dos	de	Noviembre.
aanima-wa-jat	en	aye	s̈u̱jw	dos	de	noviembre
dead-DIM-PL	in/on	DEM.MED	day	two	of	November

And the man who was stuck in the tree heard that it is true that the dead come out on that day, the second of November.

Candle:27.1

M~~uu~~t	cuandu	ipítucnu		ay~~úu~~	jáyu,
m~~uu~~t	cuandu	i-pituc-nu-Ø		ay~~uu~~	jayu
with/and	when	B.3-return-PFV2-B.INCOMPL		DEM.PROX	man

And when the man returned,

Candle:27.2

i-ampiug~~ú~~s̈au			nu'p~~ú~~j~~u~~n	ifamiliajat	m~~uu~~t	nu'p~~ú~~j~~u~~n
i-ampiu-c~~ú~~s̈-ja-u			nu'p~~u~~j~~u~~n	i-familia-jat	m~~uu~~t	nu'p~~u~~j~~u~~n
B.3-tell-PL.OBJ.SG.SBJ.-REF-A.COMPL			all	3.POSS-family-PL	with/and	all

i-amíigujat	ni'c	ayé	s̈u̱jw	itp
i-amiigu-jat	ni'c	aye	s̈u̱jw	Ø-it-p
3.POSS-friend-PL	COMPLZ	DEM.MED	day	A.3-exist-A.INCOMPL

nas̈respetatwá'n.
nas̈-respetat-wa'n
C.1INCL.3-respect-B.IRR

he told all his family and all his friends that they must respect that day.

Candle:28

M~~uu~~t	hasta	jínap,	tan	como	tu'c	ejemplo,	jeme
m~~uu~~t	hasta	jinap	tan	como	tu'c	ejemplo	jeme
with/and	until	now	stay	as	one	example	REL.PRON

iguijátway		ayé	jáyu.
igui-jat-w = ay		aye	jayu
C.3.4-happen.to-A.COMPL=PFV1		DEM.MED	man

And until now, what happened to that man remains as an example, .

Candle:29

M~~uu~~t	jínap,	en	ay~~úu~~	tiempu,	nu'p~~ú~~j~~u~~n	t~~u~~cmayná'jat
m~~uu~~t	jinap	en	ay~~uu~~	tiempu	nu'p~~u~~j~~u~~n	t~~u~~cmay-na'-jat
with/and	now	in/on	DEM.PROX	time	all	homeland-DEF-PL

irespetátcap		ayé	maas̈~~ú~~jw.
i-respetat-ca-p		aye	maas̈~~ú~~jw
B.3-respect-PL-A.INCOMPL		DEM.MED	fiesta.day

And now, in this time, all of Sayula respects that holiday.

Candle:30

M~~uu~~t	ijúygajap	i-áanimawájat	imą̈šanų̈n,	chicúulat,
m~~uu~~t	i-juy-ca-ja-p	i-aanima-wa-jat	i-maašan~~uu~~n	chicuulat
with/and	B.3-buy-PL-REF-A.INCOMPL	3.POSS-dead-DIM-PL	3.POSS-bread	chocolate

cuypíš,	m~~uu~~t	nu'pú~~j~~un	jeme	icáygaway	en	vida.
cuypiš	m~~uu~~t	nu'p~~u~~j~~u~~n	jeme	i-cay-ca-w = ay	en	vida
yucca	with/and	all	REL.PRON	B.3-eat-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1	in/on	life

And they buy for their dead their bread, chocolate, yucca, and all that they ate in life.

APPENDIX C

Noah and the Ark

Noah:1.1

Na'waywájat	más	i-išcápcap	de	nu'pújun	cuentu,
na'way-wa-jat	más	i-išcap-ca-p	de	nu'pujun	cuentu
old.man-DIM-PL	more	B.3-be.acquainted.with-PL-A.INCOMPL	with	all	story

The old people are more acquainted with all the stories

Noah:1.2

ášam	na-ampíugajáj	nat	tu'c	jáyu	imíjn	en	tiempo	de
ašam	na-ampiu-ca-ja-j	nat	tu'c	jayu	i-min-j	en	tiempo	de
like	B.1.INCL-tell-PL-REF-B.COMPL	how	one	man	B.3-come-B.COMPL	in	time	of

Noé.
Noé
Noah

like we will tell about how a man came in the time of Noah.

Noah:2

Porque	en	tiempo	de	Noé,	cuandu	i-íjt	deluvius,	ayé
porque	en	tiempo	de	Noé	cuandu	i-it-j	deluvius	aye
because	in/on	time	of	Noah	when	B.3-exist-B.COMPL	flood	DEM.MED

na'waywájat,	in-iš,	iguinumgajama	ni'c
na'way-wa-jat	in-iš-Ø	igui-num-ca-j = ama	ni'c
old.man-DIM-PL	B.2-see;PST-B.INCOMPL	C.3.4-say-PL-B.COMPL=DEFV	COMPLZ

imóygaway	tu'c	semilla	de	máašangújy.
i-moy-ca-w = ay	tu'c	semilla	de	maašangujy
B.3-give/hit-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1	one	seed	of	cedar.tree

Because in the time of Noah, when there was the flood, those old people, you see, say he gave a cedar tree seed.

Noah:3.1

Iguinájau,
igui-na-ja-u
C.3.4-say-REF-A.COMPL
[The man] said to [another],

Noah:3.2

"Hijo	tumo'áj	ayú	semilla	de	mášangújy."
hijo	tu-moy-aj	ayu	semilla	de	maašangujy
son	1.EXCL-give/hit-A.IRR	DEM.PROX	seed	of	cedar.tree

"Son, I will give you this cedar tree seed."

Noah:4.1
Inúmp,
i-nʉm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
He [continued] saying,
Noah:4.2
"Po primeru, yuujʉ́'c camní'c cada šʉjw."
po primeru yuu-jʉ'c cam-ni'c cada šʉjw
but first weed-first cornfield-LOC each day
"But first, weed the cornfield every day."
Noah:5
"Pos claramente," iguinʉ́jma ni'c ayé jáyu cada šʉjw
pos claramente igui-nʉm-ja-Ø ni'c aye jayu cada šʉjw
well sure C.3.4-say-REF-B.INCOMPL COMPLZ DEM.MED man each day

iyúuj.
i-yuu-j
B.3-weed-B.COMPL
"Well, sure," [the second man] said to him that that man would weed every day.[1]
Noah:6
Jatú'c šʉjw, igui-e'pwá'n jémanuatu' mápšanuatu'.
jatu'c šʉjw igui-e'p-wa'n jem-anu=atu' mapš-anu=atu'
another day C.3.4-see-B.IRR DEIC.DIST-PFV2=again be.overgrown-PFV2=again
Another day, he saw it was overgrown there again.
Noah:7
A de cuenta pues igayúujuyu ayé cam.
A de cuenta pues i-ga-yuu-ja-u=u aye cam
as.though well B.3-NEG-weed-REF-A.COMPL=LIMIT DEM.MED cornfield
Well, it was as though he had not even weeded the cornfield
Noah:8.1
"Bueno, pues járanó'gujyu," inʉ́mp,
bueno pues jaran-o'c-ujyu i-nʉm-p
well well now-AUG-??? B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
"Well now", he said,
Noah:8.2
"Tʉn-e'páj ayé ti i-acmápšway ayé
tʉn-e'p-aj aye ti i-ac-mapš-w=ay aye
B.1EXCL.3-see-A.IRR DEM.MED what B.3-CAUS-be.overgrown-A.COMPL=PFV1 DEM.MED

cam,
cam
cornfield
"I will see what causes that cornfield to be overgrown,

[1] Participant reference in this text can be tricky as no names are provided. The first man is now done in the story. The second man is our main character and primary speaker for the next chunk of the story.

Noah:8.3
porque tɯnga-é'p pɯn ayé
porque tɯn-ca-e'p-p pɯn aye
because B.1EXCL.3-NEG-see-A.INCOMPL who/someone DEM.MED

i-acmápsẅay ayé cam."
i-ac-mapsẅ-w = ay aye cam
B.3-CAUS-be.overgrown-A.COMPL=PFV1 DEM.MED cornfield
because I don't see who it is that cause the cornfield to grow over."

Noah:9
Pues, claramente, íjtɯp tiempu.
pues claramente Ø-ijtɯ-p tiempu
well of.course A.3-have-A.INCOMPL time
Well, of course, time passed.

Noah:10
Como tu'c šamáananuyu, nɯšp igui-é'p ayé
como tu'c šamaana-anu = u Ø-nɯš-p igui-e'p-Ø aye
about one week-now=LIMIT A.3go-A.INCOMPL C.3.4-see-B.INCOMPL DEM.MED

cam iwátpay ayé jáyu.
cam i-wat-p = ay aye jayu
cornfield B.3-do/make-A.INCOMPL=PFV1 DEM.MED man
About a week later, the man went to see the cornfield he had made.

Noah:11
Mápsẅanuatu'.
mapsẅ-anu = atu'
be.overgrown-PFV2=again
It was overgrown again.

Noah:12.1
Inɯ́mp,
i-nɯm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
He said,

Noah:12.2
"Ti ni'c ayé wename'?
ti ni'c aye wename'
why COMPLZ DEM.MED like
"Why is it like that?

Noah:13
Pos, nagajáwip ti ayé
pos na-ca-jawi-p ti aye
well B.1.INCL-NEG-know-A.INCOMPL what DEM.MED

i-acmápsẅay."
i-ac-mapsẅ-w = ay
B.3-CAUS-be.overgrown-A.COMPL=PFV1
Well, I don't know what causes it to be overgrown."

Noah:14.1
Pues, járanó'gu inúmp,
pues jaran-o'c-cu i-num-p
well now-AUG-??? B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
Then, he said immediately,
Noah:14.2
"Jínap tun-ama'áj ayé camná'.
jinap tun-ama'-aj aye cam-na'
now B.1EXCL.3-guard.at.night-A.IRR DEM.MED cornfield-DEF
"Now I will guard that cornfield at night.
Noah:15.1
Tun-ama'áj
tun-ama'-aj
B.1EXCL.3-guard.at.night-A.IRR
I will guard it at night
Noah:15.2
pa tun-e'pwá'n ti ayé i-acmápÿway
pa tun-e'p-wa'n ti aye i-ac-mapÿ-w=ay
so.that B.1EXCL.3-see-B.IRR what DEM.MED B.3-CAUS-be.overgrown-A.COMPL=PFV1

camná'."
cam-na'
cornfield-DEF
so that I will see what causes the cornfield to be overgrown."
Noah:16.1
Iguinájap ifamilia,
igui-na-ja-p i-familia
C.3.4-say-REF-A.INCOMPL 3.POSS-family
He said to his family,
Noah:16.2
"Jínap, tunmunušáj tunyuunwáy pa
jinap tun-mu-nuš-aj tun-nuun-way pa
now B.1EXCL.3-ASSOC-go-A.IRR 1EXCL.POSS-tortilla-DIM so.that

tuÿ-ama'wá'nuc."
tuÿ-ama'-wa'n=uc
C.1EXCL.3.-guard.at.night-B.IRR=QUOT
"Now, I will take my tortillas with me so that I can guard [the field] at night."
Noah:17
"Icušúwiwá'n," inúmp, "tun-e'páj te ÿuum o te tsu'm
i-cušuwi-wa'n i-num-p tun-e'p-aj te ÿuum o te tsu'm
B.3-dawn-B.IRR B.3-say-A.INCOMPL B.1EXCL.3-see-A.IRR if daytime or if nighttime

imi'nwá'n."
i-mi'n-wa'n
B.3-come-B.IRR
"When it dawns," he said, "I will see whether in daytime or nighttime someone comes.

Noah:18.1

Po,	claru,	icójyama'	jem,
po	claru	i-coy-j = ama'	jem
but	clear	B.3-arrive-B.COMPL=DEFV	DEIC.DIST

Well, sure enough, when he arrived there,

Noah:18.2

i-e'p	mimp	tu'c	na'waywaý.	
i-e'p-p	Ø-min-p	tu'c	na'way-way	
B.3-see-A.INCOMPL	A.3-come-A.INCOMPL	one	old.man-DIM	

he saw an old man coming.

Noah:19

Ayé	na'waywaý	imumímp	tu'c	ipaẅcúywaý.	
aye	na'way-way	i-mu-min-p	tu'c	i-paẅcuy-way	
DEM.MED	old.man-DIM	B.3-ASSOC-come-A.INCOMPL	one	3.POSS-stick-DIM	

The old man carried his stick.

Noah:20

Iyucwu̇́ts,	yucwu̇́ts,	yucwu̇́ts,	iguiwát	ayé
i-yucwu̇ts-Ø	yucwu̇ts	yucwu̇ts	igui-wat-Ø	aye
B.3-beat-B.INCOMPL	beat	beat	C.3.4-do/make-B.INCOMPL	DEM.MED

ma'tswájat.
ma'ts-wa-jat
weed-DIM-PL

He beats, beats, beats those weeds.

Noah:21

Entonce,	ayé	jáyu	ipíchijnap.
entonce	aye	jayu	i-pichin-ja-p
then	DEM.MED	man	B.3-come.out/over-REF-A.INCOMPL

Then, the man came over to him.

Noah:22

Inu̇mp,	"ti	inwátp?"
i-nu̇m-p	ti	in-wat-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	what	B.2-do/make-A.INCOMPL

He said, "What are you doing?"

Noah:23

Inúmp,	"Ah	hijo,	u̇u̇	tu̇yó'yp	por	padre-eterno."	
i-nu̇m-p	ah	hijo	u̇u̇	tu̇-yó'y-p	por	padre-eterno	
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	Oh	son	1.SG	1.EXCL-walk/go-A.INCOMPL	for	eternal.father	

[The old man] said, "Oh son, I travel for the eternal father."

Noah:24

"Aja,	jemé	iẅ-acyó'yp?"	
aja	jemé	iẅ-ac-yo'y-p	
huh	that.is	C.2.3-CAUS-walk/go-A.INCOMPL	

[The younger man responded] "Uh huh? Is that what makes you travel?"

Noah:25

Inúmp,	"Joo."	
i-nu̇m-p	joo	
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	yes	

[The old man] said, "Yes".

Noah:26.1
Inúmp,
i-num-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The younger man] said,
Noah:26.2
"Injáwip para cujy išpušwá'n
in-jawi-p para cujy iš-puš-wa'n
B.2-know-A.INCOMPL so.that tree C.2.3-cut.with.machete-B.IRR

ca-ítp orde pa išpušwá'n.
Ø-ca-it-p orde pa iš-puš-wa'n
A.3-NEG-exist-A.INCOMPL permission so.that C.2.3-cut.with.machete-B.IRR
"You know that you don't have permission to cut down trees
Noah:27
Por ti ni'c?"
Por ti ni'c
why
Why are you doing it?"
Noah:28
"Ah," inúmp, "Porque ni'c coyp fin del mundo."
ah i-núm-p porque ni'c Ø-coy-p fin del mundo
Oh B.3-say-A.INCOMPL because COMPLZ A.3-arrive-A.INCOMPL end of.the world
"Oh," [the old man] said, "because the end of the world is coming."
Noah:29
Inúmp, "Ah bueno pos.
i-num-p ah bueno pos
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL Oh well well
[The younger man] said, "Oh, well then.
Noah:30
Entonces jemní'cpa iš-acmápš ayé?
entonces jemní'cpa iš-ac-mapš-Ø aye
then that.is.why C.2.3-CAUS-be.overgrown-B.INCOMPL DEM.MED
Then that is why you are causing that to be overgrown?
Noah:31
Por ti ni'c?"
Por ti ni'c
why
Why?
Noah:32
"Itáj," inúmp, "deluviu."
it-aj i-num-p deluviu
exist-A.IRR B.3-say-A.INCOMPL flood
"There will be," [the old man] said, "a flood."
Noah:33
"Ah, po wénajpu'n óyupa."
ah po wenajpu'n oyupa
Oh but then ok
"Oh, but ok then." [the younger man said]

Noah:34.1
Despues inʉ́mp,
despues i-nʉm-p
after/then B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
Then [the old man] said,
Noah:34.2
"Hijo, tʉmo'áj tu'c máašangújy semilla."
hijo tʉ-moy-aj tu'c maašangujy semilla
son 1.EXCL-give/hit-A.IRR one cedar.tree seed
"Son, I will give you a cedar tree seed."
Noah:35.1
Imóyp como tres máašanguywájat,
i-moy-p como tres maašangujy-wa-jat
B.3-give/hit-A.INCOMPL about 3 cedar.tree-DIM-PL
He gave him about three little cedar trees,
Noah:35.2
po de tresway, pegát méchcuyu.
po de tres-way pegat mechc-uyu
but of three-DIM take.root two-???
but of the three, two would not take root.[2]
Noah:36
"Hijo, con tu'c máašangújy, išformájtáj en tu'c tsú'yu.
hijo con tu'c maašangujy iš-format-ja-aj en tu'c tsu'=u
son with one cedar.tree C.2.3-form-REF-A.IRR in/on one night=LIMIT
[The old man said,] "Son, with one cedar tree, it will grow up for you in just one night.
Noah:37
Po inyi'páj, hijo, mero intʉc-auní'c."
po in-ni'p-aj hijo mero in-tʉc.ajw-ni'c
but B.2-sow-A.IRR son right 2.POSS-door-LOC
But, you will sow it, son, right in front of your door."
Noah:38
Inʉ́mp, "Bueno, pos óyupa."
i-nʉm-p bueno pos oyupa
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL well well ok
[The younger man] said, "Well, okay."
Noah:39
Iguimójy semilla; iguiníijp.
igui-moy-j semilla igui-niip-j
C.3.4-give/hit-B.COMPL seed C.3.4-sow-B.COMPL
[The old man] gave the seeds; [the younger man] planted them.
Noah:40.1
Icušʉ́wij,
i-cušʉ́wi-j
B.3-dawn-B.COMPL
When it dawned,

[2] As I cannot parse the suffixes on *mechc*, I have retained Clark's translation here.

Noah:40.2
ayé máašangújy mú̱jway máašangúyanu.
aye maašangujy mú̱j-way maašanguy-anu
DEM.MED cedar.tree big-DIM cedar.tree-PFV2
that cedar tree [seed] had become a big cedar tree.
Noah:41
Mit despues de ayé, "Cu̱šwá'n inché'mp,"
mit despues de aye Ø-cu̱š-wa'n in-che'n-p
with/and after/then of DEM.MED A.3-finish-B.IRR B.2-look.for-A.INCOMPL

inú̱mp, "tu'c carpintero
i-nu̱m-p tu'c carpintero
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL one carpenter
And after that, "Then you will look for, "[the old man] said, "a carpenter
Noah:42
pu̱n ipijotámpay ayé máašangúyná'."
pu̱n i-pijot-am-p=ay aye maašanguy-na'
who/someone B.3-chisel.out-A.IRR-A.INCOMPL=PFV1 DEM.MED cedar.tree-DEF
who will chisel out that cedar tree."
Noah:43.1
Cu̱š inú̱mp,
cu̱š i-nu̱m-p
then B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
Then [old man continued] saying,
Noah:43.2
"Išpijót nu'pú̱ju̱n, intu'yáj may nu̱u̱n pa
iš-pijot nu'pu̱ju̱n in-tu'y-aj may nu̱u̱n pa
C.2.3-chisel.out all B.2-make.tortillas-A.IRR many tortilla so.that

ištu-apatswá'n ayé ajná'.
iš-tu-apats-wa'n aye aj-na'
C.2.3-APPL-fill.up-B.IRR DEM.MED boat-DEF
"When you have chiseled it all out, make many tortillas, so that you might fill up that boat with them.
Noah:44
Mit infamilia jem iščomgu̱šwá'n.
mit in-familia jem iš-com-cu̱š-wa'n
with/and 2.POSS-family DEIC.DIST C.2.3-put-PL.OBJ.SG.SBJ.-B.IRR
And you will put your family there.
Noah:45
Po primeru, mii in-ajque'šu̱'gaj ayé.
po primeru mii in-ajque'š-ju̱'c-aj aye
but first 2SG B.2-teach/show-first-A.IRR DEM.MED
But first, you will teach those people.
Noah:46
Mii inyagáj avisu ni'c itáj deluviu.
mii in-yac-aj avisu ni'c Ø-it-aj deluviu
2SG B.2-place-A.IRR notice COMPLZ A.3-exist-A.IRR flood
You will give [them] notice that there will be a flood.

Noah:47.1
Po, como japúujtat catsúungap en creencia,
po como japuut-jat Ø-ca-tsuun-ca-p en creencia
but as the.rest-PL A.3-NEG-be-PL-A.INCOMPL in/on belief
But, as the rest of them are not in the faith,
Noah:47.2
iguinúmgawama' ni'c ca-itáj fin.
igui-num-ca-w=ama' ni'c Ø-ca-it-aj fin
C.3.4-say-PL-A.COMPL=DEFV COMPLZ A.3-NEG-exist-A.IRR end
they say that there will not be an end.
Noah:48
Wéetpayná' ayé.
wéetpay-na' aye
lying-DEF DEM.MED
They are liars
Noah:49
Po nagacupujcáj."
po na-ca-cupuc-ja-aj
but B.1.INCL-NEG-believe-REF-A.IRR
But I do not believe them."
Noah:50
Imóyway ayé semilla.
i-moy-w=ay aye semilla
B.3-give/hit-A.COMPL=PFV1 DEM.MED seed
He gave that seed.
Noah:51
Iwátway ayé aj.
i-wat-w=ay aye aj
B.3-do/make-A.COMPL=PFV1 DEM.MED boat
He made that boat.
Noah:52.1
Despues iguiwát aj, inúmp,
despues igui-wat-Ø aj i-num-p
after/then C.3.4-do/make-B.INCOMPL boat B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
After he had made the boat, [the old man] said,
Noah:52.2
"Cušp intú'ygap inyúun may?
Ø-cuš-p in-tú'y-ca-p in-nuun may
A.3-finish-A.INCOMPL B.2-make.tortillas-PL-A.INCOMPL 2.POSS-tortilla many
"Have you finished making your tortillas? How many?
Noah:53
May išcomwá'n jem nuun."
may iš-com-wa'n jem nuun
many C.2.3-put-B.IRR DEIC.DIST tortilla
You will put many tortillas in there."

Noah:54.1
Cʉs̈ nu'pʉ́jʉn i-actájn,
cʉs̈ nu'pʉjʉn i-actan-j
then all B.3-???-B.COMPL
When everything was done,
Noah:54.2
óyatu' igui-ajqué's̈ ayé ná'way.
oy=atu' igui-ajque's̈-Ø aye na'way
walk/go\PST=again C.3.4-teach/show-B.INCOMPL DEM.MED old.man
he went again to show the old man.
Noah:55.1
Icójy mam ayé na'waywaý,
i-coy-j mam aye na'way-way
B.3-arrive-B.COMPL where DEM.MED old.man-DIM
When he arrived where the old man was,
Noah:55.2
iguinájau,
igui-na-ja-u
C.3.4-say-REF-A.COMPL
he said to [the old man],
Noah:55.3
"Jínap que cʉs̈wayama' ajná'!"
jinap que cʉs̈-w=ay=ama' aj-na'
now that finish-A.COMPL=PFV1=DEFV boat-DEF
"Now the boat is finished!"
Noah:56
"Ah bueno," inʉ́mp, "nʉʉn te?"
ah bueno i-nʉm-p nʉʉn te
Oh well B.3-say-A.INCOMPL tortilla if
"Oh good," [the old man] said, "and the tortillas?"
Noah:57
"Tambiéney tú'yiganu may."
también=ey tú'y-ic-anu may
{The younger man said], "There are many made, too."
Noah:58
"Intú'ygap may."
in-tú'y-ca-p may
B.2-make.tortillas-PL-A.INCOMPL many
[The old man said], "You made many.
Noah:59
"Como pʉ́jʉn mo'n," inʉ́mp, "is̈tú'jy?"
como pʉjʉn mo'n i-nʉm-p is̈-tu'y-j
about how.much/many zontle B.3-say-A.INCOMPL C.2.3-make.tortillas-B.COMPL
About how many zontle tortillas," he said, "did you make?"[3]

[3] *Zontle* is a Nahuatl measure of 400.

Noah:60.1
Inʉ́mp,
i-nʉm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The younger man] said,
Noah:60.2
"Tʉntú'y como dos zontle."
tʉn-tu'y-Ø como dos zontle
B.1EXCL.3-make.tortillas-B.INCOMPL about two zontle
"I made about two zontle." [i.e. 800 tortillas total]
Noah:61.1
"Ah," inʉ́mp, "pos óyupa.
ah i-nʉm-p pos oyupa
Oh B.3-say-A.INCOMPL well ok
"Oh," [the old man] said, "Well, ok."
Noah:61.2
Ayé iʂpáatp.
aye iʂ-paat-p
DEM.MED C.2.3-last-A.INCOMPL
That will last you.
Noah:62.1
Iʂcapáatp,
iʂ-ca-paat-p
C.2.3-NEG-last-A.INCOMPL
They won't last you forever,
Noah:62.2
porque jegáj hasta imánacnuwá'n ayé nʉ'.
porque jec-aj hasta i-manac-nu-wa'n aye nʉ'
but hold.out-A.IRR until B.3-go.down-PFV2-B.IRR DEM.MED water
but they will hold out until the water goes down.
Noah:63
Porque nʉ' cu'táj hasta iganipáajtap cielu.
porque nʉ' Ø-cu't-aj hasta i-ca-ni-paat-ja-p cielu
because water A.3-rise-A.IRR until B.3-NEG-NEG.INCOMPL-last-REF-A.INCOMPL sky
Because the water will rise until the sky can't hold it.
Noah:64
Inipáajtawa'n cielu, entonce mánacnupama.
i-ni-paat-ja-wa'n cielu entonce Ø-manac-nu-p=ama
B.3-REFL-find-REF-B.IRR sky then A.3-go.down-PFV2-A.INCOMPL=DEFV
When the sky is full, then [the water] will go down.
Noah:65
Míijama' inyagámpay cuenta de nat inmíjn
miij=ama' in-yac-am-p=ay cuenta de nat in-min-j
2SG=DEFV B.2-place-A.IRR-A.INCOMPL=PFV1 account of how B.2-come-B.COMPL

ayéma."
aye-ma
DEM.MED
You will tell how that came about."

Noah:66

Iguinájap	ayé	ná'way.
igui-na-ja-p	aye	na'way
C.3.4-say-REF-A.INCOMPL	DEM.MED	old.man

That's what the old man said to him.

Noah:67

Inʉmp,	"Bueno	pos	óyupa."
i-nʉm-p	bueno	pos	oyupa
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	well	well	ok

[The younger man] said, "Okay."

Noah:68

Itúgʉjy	jem,	i-atúc.
i-tʉgʉy-j	jem	i-atuc-Ø
B.3-enter-B.COMPL	DEIC.DIST	B.3-shut-B.INCOMPL

When [the younger man] entered [the boat], it was shut.

Noah:69

Tuu,	tuu,	tuu,	tuu,	cada	tsu',	s̈ʉʉm	tsu'm,	s̈ʉʉm	tsu'm,	s̈ʉʉm	tsu'm.
tuu	tuu	tuu	tuu	cada	tsu'	s̈ʉʉm	tsu'm	s̈ʉʉm	tsu'm	s̈ʉʉm	tsu'm
rain	rain	rain	rain	each	night	daytime	nighttime	daytime	nighttime	daytime	nighttime

Rain, rain, rain, rain. Every night. Day and night, day and night, day and night.

Noah:70

Bueno,	i-é'pama'		ni'c	ajná'	nitsúgujtʉnup.
bueno	i-e'p-p=ama'		ni'c	aj-na'	ni-tsugut-jʉ-nu-p
well	B.3-see-A.INCOMPL=DEFV		COMPLZ	boat-DEF	REFL-move-REF-PFV2-A.INCOMPL

Well, he sees that the boat moves by itself.

Noah:71

Cú'tnup	pa	yucm,	cu'tp,		cu'tp
Ø-cú't-nu-p	pa	yucm	Ø-cu't-p		Ø-cu't-p
A.3-rise-PFV2-A.INCOMPL	so.that	high	A.3-rise-A.INCOMPL		A.3-rise-A.INCOMPL

ayéma'	aj.
aye-ma'	aj
DEM.MED-???	boat

It rises so high, rises, the boat rises.

Noah:72

Túgʉyama'	ajná'	mit	nʉ'.
tʉgʉy=ama'	aj-na'	mit	nʉ'
enter=DEFV	boat-DEF	with/and	water

Water enters the boat.

Noah:73.1

Inúmp,
i-nʉm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL

He said,

Noah:73.2

"Niguqué	inga-awa'tscáj	ayé	hasta	hora	de
niguqué	in-ca-awa'ts-ca-aj	aye	hasta	hora	de
beware	B.2-NEG-open-PL-A.IRR	DEM.MED	until	hour/time	of

imánacnuwá'nama."
i-manac-nu-wa'n = ama
B.3-go.down-PFV2-B.IRR=DEFV
"Beware you don't open that until it's time for the water to lower."

Noah:74.1

Entonce iguinújma
entonce igui-num-ja-Ø
then C.3.4-say-REF-B.INCOMPL
Then [the old man] said to them,

Noah:74.2

"Tunyagáj avisuatu' cuandu hora de imánacnuwá'n
tun-yac-aj avisu = atu' cuandu hora de i-manac-nu-wa'n
B.1EXCL.3-place-A.IRR notice=again when hour/time of B.3-go.down-PFV2-B.IRR

nu'.
nu'
water
"I'll give notice again when it's time for the water to lower."

Noah:75

Jáwi pújun po' itsúuna ayé nu'?
jawi pujun po' i-tsuuna-Ø aye nu'
know how.much/many month B.3-be-B.INCOMPL DEM.MED water
Who knows how many months there will be water?

Noah:76

Naga-é'p neti, ni cújy, neti, neti; mas que puru
na-ca-e'p-p neti ni cujy neti neti mas puru
B.1.INCL-NEG-see-A.INCOMPL nothing not.even tree nothing nothing more only

nu' i-é'p."
nu' i-e'p-p
water B.3-see-A.INCOMPL
One can't see anything, not even a tree. Nothing. Nothing. He only sees water.

Noah:77.1

Inúmp ayé jáyu,
i-num-p aye jayu
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL DEM.MED man
The [old] man says,

Noah:77.2

"Despues ayé hora, bien atuctá'guic inyúšcawá'n.
despues aye hora bien atucta'c-cu-ic in-núš-ca-wa'n
after/then DEM.MED hour/time well shut.completely-???-PTCP B.2-go-PL-B.IRR
"From now on, it is well shut when you go.

Noah:78

Cuidáj inga-awa'tsáj ayé hora imánacnuwá'n nu'."
cuidaj in-ca-awa'ts-aj aye hora i-manac-nu-wa'n nu'
beware B.2-NEG-open-A.IRR DEM.MED hour/time B.3-go.down-PFV2-B.IRR water
Beware you don't open that until it is time for the water to lower."

Noah:79
Entonce, íjtʉnup may anímaat jem.
entonce it-jʉ-nu-p may animaat jem
then exist-REF-PFV2-A.INCOMPL many animal DEIC.DIST
Then, he has many animals there.
Noah:80
"Cuando hora de imánacnuwá'n ayé nʉ', nijʉ́may anímaat
cuando hora de i-manac-nu-wa'n aye nʉ' nijʉ́may animaat
when hour/time of B.3-go.down-PFV2-B.IRR DEM.MED water none animal

iš-actanwá'n."
iš-actan-wa'n
C.2.3-take.hold.of-B.IRR
[The old man said,] "When it is time for the water to lower, take none of the animals."
Noah:81
Inʉ́mp, "Bueno pues ti ni'c?"
i-nʉm-p bueno pues ti ni'c
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL well well why.not
[The younger man] said, "Well, why not?"
Noah:82.1
Inʉ́mp,
i-nʉm-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
[The old man] said,
Noah:82.2
"Ca-óyap išcáygawá'n ayé,
Ø-ca-oya-p iš-cay-ca-wa'n aye
A.3-NEG-be.able.to-A.INCOMPL C.2.3-eat-PL-B.IRR DEM.MED
"You cannot eat them.
Noah:82.3
porque itáj acš, itáj may anímạt diferente clase,
porque Ø-it-aj acš Ø-it-aj may animaat diferente clase
because A.3-exist-A.IRR fish A.3-exist-A.IRR many animal different kind
because there will be fish, there will be many different kinds of animals,
Noah:82.4
mit nijʉ́may ingacayáj."
mit nijʉ́may in-ca-cay-aj
with/and none B.2-NEG-eat-A.IRR
and you will not eat any of them."
Noah:83
Inʉ́mp, "Bueno pos óyujyu."
i-nʉm-p bueno pos oyujyu
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL well well ok
[The younger man] said, "Oh, okay."
Noah:84
Ayé ná'way iguimóyp punta ni'c nijʉ́may anímaat
aye na'way igui-moy-p punta ni'c nijʉ́may animaat
DEM.MED old.man C.3.4-give/hit-A.INCOMPL order COMPLZ none animal

magacáywit.
ma ca-cay-wit
should-NEG-eat-NEG.IMPV
The old man gave him an order that he should not eat any animal.

Noah:85.1

Pues,	igui-íš	ni'c	tómanuama'	icóygawá'n
pues	igui-iš-Ø	ni'c	tom-anu=ama'	i-coy-ca-wa'n
well	C.3.4-see;PST-B.INCOMPL	COMPLZ	near-PFV2=DEFV	B.3-arrive-PL-B.IRR

naašní'c,	i-é'pama	ni'c	tsúunap	naaš,
naaš-ni'c	i-e'p-p=ama	ni'c	Ø-tsuuna-p	naaš
earth-LOC	B.3-see-A.INCOMPL=DEFV	COMPLZ	A.3-be-A.INCOMPL	earth

Well, when [the old man] saw that they would arrive at the ground, when he saw that the ground was near,

Noah:85.2

i-acjó'n	tú'c	esquibúway.	
i-acjo'n-Ø	tu'c	esquibu-way	
B.3-set.free-B.INCOMPL	one	esquibu.bird-DIM	

an esquibu bird was set free.

Noah:86.1

Pues,	como	ca-íjtup	maj	para	ique'cwá'n,
pues	como	Ø-ca-it-ju-p	maj	para	i-que'c-wa'n
well	as	A.3-NEG-exist-REF-A.INCOMPL	effort	so.that	B.3-fly-B.IRR

But as he was not strong for flying,

Noah:86.2

pues,	nunca	camínu;	ayé	esquibúway
pues	nunca	Ø-ca-min-u	aye	esquibu-way
well	never	A.3-NEG-come-A.COMPL	DEM.MED	esquibu.bird-DIM

iga-ajqué'š.
i-ca-ajque'š-Ø
B.3-NEG-teach/show-B.INCOMPL
well, he never came back; the esquibu bird didn't show up.

Noah:87

"Bueno,"	inúmp,	"pos	esquibúway	camínuyu.	
bueno	i-num-p	pos	esquibu-way	Ø-ca-min-nu-yu	
well	B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	well	esquibu.bird-DIM	A.3-NEG-come-PFV2-A.COMPL	

"Well," [the old man] said, "that bird didn't come back.

Noah:88

Ti ni'c	ayé	camínu?	
ti ni'c	aye	Ø-ca-min-u	
why.not	DEM.MED	A.3-NEG-come-A.COMPL	

Why didn't he come back?

Noah:89

Pues,	ca-oyó'c	iqué'c	de juru."
pues	ca-oy-o'c	i-que'c-Ø	de juru
well	NEG-good-AUG	B.3-fly-B.INCOMPL	probably

Well, he probably did not fly well.

Noah:90
Bueno, pues, na-acjo'ngáj jatú'c.
bueno pues na-acjo'n-ca-aj jatu'c
well well B.1.INCL-set.free-PL-A.IRR another
Well, we'll set free another.
Noah:91
Jínap na-acjo'ngáj ayé palomaway."
jinap na-acjo'n-ca-aj aye paloma-way
now B.1.INCL-set.free-PL-A.IRR DEM.MED dove-DIM
Now we will free that dove."
Noah:92.1
Pues, palomaway igui-acjó'nga, nɯcs̈,
pues paloma-way igui-acjo'n-ca-Ø nɯcs̈
well dove-DIM C.3.4-set.free-PL-B.INCOMPL go
Well, when they freed the dove, she went,
Noah:92.2
mit mam icójy jem, mam itájn, náaẅwayní'c
mit mam i-coy-j jem mam i-tan-j naaẅ-way-ni'c
with/and where B.3-arrive-B.COMPL DEIC.DIST where B.3-stay-B.COMPL earth-DIM-LOC

puru mo'tstɯ́'n.
puru mo'tstɯ'n
only mud
and there where [the boat] arrived where it stopped, there was only mud on the ground.
Noah:93
Ni cújy.
ni cujy
not.even tree
Not even a tree.
Noah:94
Netí ca-ítp!
neti Ø-ca-it-p
nothing A.3-NEG-exist-A.INCOMPL
There was nothing!
Noah:95
Limpiu naaẅ nu'pɯjɯn.
Limpiu naaẅ nu'pɯjɯn
clean earth all
All the earth was clean.
Noah:96
Ca-ítp jáyau, más que tan solamente jé'yu ayé jáyau
Ø-ca-it-p jayau más que tan solamente jé'yu aye jayau
A.3-NEG-exist-A.INCOMPL man except DEM.MED man

jeme imuyó'yway aj.
jeme i-muyo'y-w=ay aj
REL.PRON B.3-take.with-A.COMPL=PFV1 boat
There were no people, except the man who took the boat.

Noah:97
Jeméma' ayé inidefendiátcʉjʉwá'n.
jem-ema' aye i-ni-defendiat-cʉ-jʉ-wa'n
DEIC.DIST-??? DEM.MED B.3-REFL-protect-PL-REF-B.IRR
There they were to protect themselves.
Noah:98.1
Bueno, pues, ayé jáyau inʉ́mp,
bueno pues aye jayau i-nʉm-p
well well DEM.MED man B.3-say-A.INCOMPL
Well then the [younger] man said,
Noah:98.2
"Pa natsʉ́ʉngawá'n en creencia, na-acjó'ngaway
pa na-tsʉʉn-ca-wa'n en creencia na-acjo'n-ca-w=ay
so.that B.1.INCL-be-PL-B.IRR in/on belief A.1.INCL-set.free-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1

ayé jonwáy.
aye jon-way
DEM.MED bird-DIM
"So that we might live in faith, we have set free that bird.
Noah:99
Na-acjo'ngáj jatú'c palomawáy."
na-acjo'n-ca-aj jatu'c paloma-way
B.1.INCL-set.free-PL-A.IRR another dove-DIM
We will set free another dove."
Noah:100
I-acjó'ngaway ayé palomawáy.
i-acjo'n-ca-w=ay aye paloma-way
B.3-set.free-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1 DEM.MED dove-DIM
He set free that dove.
Noah:101
Ayé palomawáy oy yó'ypay.
aye paloma-way oy Ø-yó'y-p=ay
DEM.MED dove-DIM good A.3-walk/go-A.INCOMPL=PFV1
That dove travelled well.
Noah:102
Ayé ma yácma' cuenta.
aye ma yacma' cuenta
DEM.MED should tell what.happened
She should tell what happened.
Noah:103
Pues, naganiténap oy naaẅní'c.
pues na-ca-ni-tena-p oy naaẅ-ni'c
well A.1.INCL-NEG-NEG.INCOMPL-stand-A.INCOMPL good earth-LOC
Well, one could no longer stand well on the earth.
Noah:104
Nʉ'jóc ayé naaẅ.
nʉ'jóc aye naaẅ
full.of.puddles DEM.MED earth
The ground was full of puddles.

Noah:105
Pú'nʉgó'cna naaš.
Pú'nʉc-o'c = na naaš
soft-AUG=DUR earth
The earth was still soft.
Noah:106
Entonce, ayé jáyau i-é'p ni'c mam
entonce aye jayau i-e'p-p ni'c mam
then DEM.MED man B.3-see-A.INCOMPL COMPLZ where

ica'tsíic acšná'jat májat.
i-ca'ts-iic-Ø acš-na'-jat majat
B.3-jump/throw-HAB-B.INCOMPL fish-DEF-PL big
Then the [younger] man saw where the big fish were jumping around.
Noah:107
Inúmp, "Jánga nawátca jʉjn."
i-nʉm-p janga na-wat-Ø-ca jʉjn
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL let's.go B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-B.INCOMPL fire
[The younger man] said, "Let's make a fire."
Noah:108
Pos, inájaway, ayé ná'way inúmp ca
pos i-na-ja-w = ay aye na'way i-nʉm-p ca
well B.3-say-REF-A.COMPL=PFV1 DEM.MED old.man B.3-say-A.INCOMPL NEG

magawátcawit.
ma ca-wat-ca-wit
should-NEG-do/make-PL-NEG.IMPV
Well, when he had spoken to them, the old man said that no, they should not make one.
Noah:109
Je' i-ordenátáj magawátca jʉjn.
je' i-ordenat-aj ma ca-wat-ca jʉjn
3.SG B.3-order-A.IRR should-NEG-do/make-PL fire
He ordered that they shouldn't make a fire.
Noah:110
Inúmp, "Pues, óyupa."
i-nʉm-p pues oyupa
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL well ok
[The younger man] said, "Well, okay."
Noah:111
Po je' igacumpliát lo que inúmgaway na'wayway.
po je' i-ca-cumpliat-Ø lo que i-nʉm-ca-w = ay na'way-way
but 3.SG B.3-NEG-fulfill-B.INCOMPL what B.3-say-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1 old.man-DIM
But he didn't obey what the old man had said.
Noah:112
Igacumpliát icreenciajéy.
i-ca-cumpliat-Ø i-creencia = jey
B.3-NEG-fulfill-B.INCOMPL B.3-belief=also
He wasn't faithful, either.

Noah:113

Inúmp,	"Tí pa	naśjáwigáj?
i-num-p	tí pa	naś-jawi-ca-aj
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	how	C.1INCL.3-know-PL-A.IRR

{The young man] said, "How will we be found out?

Noah:114

Atuctáac,	naśwatwá'n	jujn	ajcútum.
atuctaac	naś-wat-wa'n	jujn	aj-cut-um
shut.completely	C.1INCL.3-do/make-B.IRR	fire	boat-hole-LOC

With the door shut, we will make a fire inside the boat.

Noah:115

Capún	naś-e'pcáj	bien	atuctá'guic.
capun	naś-e'p-ca-aj	bien	atucta'c-cu-ic
no.one	C.1INCL.3-see-PL-A.IRR	well	shut.completely-???-PTCP

We will not be seen by anybody with the door well shut.

Noah:116

Igaśu'gáj	de juru	Dios	ayéma'	jujn."
i-ca-śu'c-aj	de juru	Dios	aye-ma'	jujn
B.3-NEG-smell-A.IRR	probably	God	DEM.MED-???	fire

God will probably not smell that fire."

Noah:117

Pos,	claru	Dios	ijáwip	ti	iwátcapay.	
pos	claru	Dios	i-jawi-p	ti	i-wat-ca-p = ay	
well	clear	God	B.3-know-A.INCOMPL	what	B.3-do/make-PL-A.INCOMPL=PFV1	

Well, of course God knew what they were doing.

Noah:118

Inúmp,	"Uu	tunga-acśu'cpíchináj		jujn."
i-num-p	uu	tun-ca-ac-śu'c-pichin-aj		jujn
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	1.SG	B.1EXCL.3-NEG-CAUS-smell-come.out/over-A.IRR		fire

He said, "I won't let the smell of the fire escape."

Noah:119

Pues,	Dios	nimójyup	cuenta	nat	i-íjt.	
pues	Dios	Ø-ni-moy-ju-p	cuenta	nat	i-it-j	
well	God	A.3-REFL-give/hit-REF-A.INCOMPL	account	how	B.3-exist-B.COMPL	

Well, God realized how it was.

Noah:120

Pues	claru,	icáygaway	acś.	
pues	claru	i-cay-ca-w = ay	acś	
well	clear	B.3-eat-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1	fish	

Well of course, they ate the fish.

Noah:121

Entonces,	cuandu	itútsama'	naaś,	entonce	mánacama'	Dios.	
entonces	cuandu	i-tuts-Ø = ama'	naaś	entonce	manac = ama'	Dios	
then	when	B.3-dry.up-B.INCOMPL=DEFV	earth	then	go.down=DEFV	God	

Then, when the ground had dried up, then God came down.

Noah:122

Entonces	iguinájau	Dios,	"Ah	hijo,"	inúmp,
entonces	igui-na-ja-u	Dios	ah	hijo	i-num-p
then	C.3.4-say-REF-A.COMPL	God	Oh	son	B.3-say-A.INCOMPL

"migajacaygáj	ayé	acs̈!"
mi-ca-ja-cay-ca-aj	aye	acs̈
A.2-NEG-NEG.COMPL-eat-PL-A.IRR	DEM.MED	fish

Then God spoke to him. "Oh son," he said, "You will not eat those fish [any more]."

Noah:123.1

Inúmp,	"Ti ni'c?
i-num-p	ti ni'c
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	why.not

[The younger man] said, "Why not?"

Noah:123.2

Tungawátcawu	jujn."
tun-ca-wat-ca-wu	jujn
B.1EXCL.3-NEG-do/make-PL-A.COMPL	fire

We didn't make a fire."

Noah:124

"Como no,"	inúmp,	"inwátcau	jujn!
Como no	i-num-p	in-wat-ca-u	jujn
of.course	B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	B.2-do/make-PL-A.COMPL	fire

"Of course," [God] said, "you did make a fire!

Noah:125

Injáwip	ti?
in-jawi-p	ti
B.2-know-A.INCOMPL	what

Do you know what?

Noah:126

Jínap	migagozátcáj.
jinap	mi-ga-gozat-ca-aj
now	A.2-NEG-enjoy-PL-A.IRR

Now you will not enjoy yourself[4]

Noah:127

Mechc	tunyajcuš́áj;	cujtú'c	cujtú'c
mechc	tun-yac-cuš-aj	cujtú'c	cujtú'c
two	B.1EXCL.3-place-PL.OBJ.SG.SBJ.-A.IRR	each	

inca'tspíchinguš́wá'n."	
in-ca'ts-pichin-cuš-wa'n	
B.2-jump/throw-come.out/over-PL.OBJ.SG.SBJ.-B.IRR	

I will give you two animals; each [of which] you will throw out."

[4] Clark originally had *magagozátcáj*. *Ma* could only be understood as a modal not allowed with the second person. The second person modal is *pi.* I suspect Clark meant *mi,*which fits better.

Noah:128
Ica'tspíchin nʉ'.
i-ca'ts-pichin-Ø nʉ'
B.3-jump/throw-come.out/over-B.INCOMPL water
Water was thrown out.
Noah:129
Cʉšʉ nu'pná'jat.
cʉšʉ nu'p-na'-jat
then buzzard-DEF-PL
Then the buzzards.
Noah:130.1
Después ica'tspíchin ayé nu'pná'jat,
despues i-ca'ts-pichin-Ø aye nu'p-na'-jat
after/then B.3-jump/throw-come.out/over-B.INCOMPL DEM.MED buzzard-DEF-PL
When the buzzards were thrown out,
Noah:130.2
ica'tspíchinwatu' ayé búuguná'jat.
i-ca'ts-pichin-w=atu' aye buugun-na'-jat
B.3-jump/throw-come.out/over-A.COMPL=again DEM.MED monkey-DEF-PL
the monkeys were thrown out.
Noah:131
Después búuguná'jat, ica'tspichinama' ayé
despues buugun-na'-jat i-ca'ts-pichin-Ø=ama' aye
after/then monkey-DEF-PL B.3-jump/throw-come.out/over-B.INCOMPL=DEFV DEM.MED

anímaat nagacayámpay.
animaat na-ca-cay-am-p=ay
animal A.1.INCL-NEG-eat-A.IRR-A.INCOMPL=PFV1
After the monkeys, the animals we don't eat were thrown out.
Noah:132
Porque, ayé nu'pná', in-íš, capʉ́n icáyp.
porque aye nu'p-na' in-iš-Ø capʉn i-cay-p
because DEM.MED buzzard-DEF B.2-see;PST-B.INCOMPL no.one B.3-eat-A.INCOMPL
Because, the buzzard, you see, nobody eats.
Noah:133
Búuguna' siempre igacáygap.
buugun-na' siempre i-ca-cay-ca-p
monkey-DEF ever B.3-NEG-eat-PL-A.INCOMPL
Monkeys nobody eats.
Noah:134
Cájau, in-íš, capʉ́n icáyp.
cajau in-iš capʉn i-cay-p
jaguar B.2-see;PST no.one B.3-eat-A.INCOMPL
Jaguars, you see, nobody eats.
Noah:135
Bueno, anímątwájat ica'tspíchingaway.
bueno animaat-wa-jat i-ca'ts-pichin-ca-w=ay
well animal-DIM-PL B.3-jump/throw-come.out/over-PL-A.COMPL=PFV1
Well, those animals they threw out.

Noah:136
Pues, jem icometiátcau mal.
pues jem i-cometiat-ca-u mal
well DEIC.DIST B.3-commit-PL-A.COMPL evil
Well, there they did evil.
Noah:137
Igacumpliát ideberjat.
i-ca-cumpliat-Ø i-deber-jat
B.3-NEG-fulfill-B.INCOMPL 3.POSS-responsibility-PL
They didn't do what they should have.
Noah:138
Pues jem imíjn historianá'jat nat imíjn.
pues jem i-min-j historia-na'-jat nat i-min-j
well DEIC.DIST B.3-come-B.COMPL story-DEF-PL how B.3-come-B.COMPL
From there comes the story of how things came to be.
Noah:139
Po iyájcau na'waywájat.
po i-yac-ca-u na'way-wa-jat
but B.3-place-PL-A.COMPL old.man-DIM-PL
That's what the old people have passed down.
Noah:140
Entonces, de jem, ichúuchijama' formátpay.
entonces de jem i-chuuchi-j=ama' Ø-format-p=ay
then of DEIC.DIST B.3-begin-B.COMPL=DEFV A.3-form-A.INCOMPL=PFV1
Then God began to create.
Noah:141.1
Iformatpú'njama' cujtú'c cujtú'c jáyuwájat,
i-format-pu'n-j=ama' cujtu'c cujtu'c jayu-wa-jat
B.3-form-inclsv-B.COMPL=DEFV each each man-DIM-PL
People were created one by one.
Noah:141.2
porque i-é'p Dios ni'c limpiu mundu itsúuna.
porque i-e'p-p Dios ni'c limpiu mundu i-tsuuna
because B.3-see-A.INCOMPL God COMPLZ clean world B.3-be
because God saw that the world was clean.
Noah:142
Ca-íjtup ni jáyau.
Ø-ca-it-ju-p ni jayau
A.3-NEG-exist-REF-A.INCOMPL not.even man
There weren't even people.
Noah:143
Vaya, limpiu total.
vaya limpiu total
in.short clean completely
In short, it was completely clean.

Noah:144

Óyap	i-é'p	yágats	tu'c	jáyau,	ni'c	tu'c	cujy
Ø-oya-p	i-e'p-Ø	yagats	tu'c	jayau	ni'c	tu'c	cujy
A.3-be.able.to-A.INCOMPL	B.3-see-B.INCOMPL	far	one	man	COMPLZ	one	tree

ca-ítp.
ca-Ø-it-p
NEG-A.3-exist-A.INCOMPL

A person could see far, because there wasn't even one tree.

Noah:145

Cuyjúc ca-ítp.
cuyjuc Ø-ca-it-p
forest A.3-NEG-exist-A.INCOMPL
There wasn't a forest.

Noah:146

Tsúunap	en	tu'c	llanu	limpiu	pareju.
Ø-tsuuna-p	en	tu'c	llanu	limpiu	pareju
A.3-be-A.INCOMPL	in/on	one	plain	clean	level

They were in a clean level plain.

Noah:147.1

Igui-íš	Dios	ni'c	ca-ítp	ayé	cuyjúc,
igui-iš-Ø	Dios	ni'c	Ø-ca-it-p	aye	cuyjuc
C.3.4-see;PST-B.INCOMPL	God	COMPLZ	A.3-NEG-exist-A.INCOMPL	DEM.MED	forest

When God saw that there wasn't [even] a forest,

Noah:147.2

entonces	je'	ipensát	tu'c	idea.
entonces	je'	i-pensat-Ø	tu'c	idea
then	3.SG	B.3-think-A.COMPL	one	idea

then he thought of an idea.

Noah:148

Inájau,	"Járanó'gu	nawatcáj	tu'c	to'chwáy."
i-na-ja-u	jaran-o'c-cu	na-wat-ca-aj	tu'c	to'ch-way
B.3-say-REF-A.COMPL	now-AUG-???	B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.IRR	one	girl-DIM

He said, "Right now, we'll make a girl."

Noah:149

Ináaš	iwátp	tu'c	to'chwáy.
i-naaš	i-wat-p	tu'c	to'ch-way
3.POSS-earth	B.3-do/make-A.INCOMPL	one	girl-DIM

He made a girl from the earth.

Noah:150

Iwájtau	tu'c	forma	de	icú',	ita'nwájat,	
i-wat-ja-u	tu'c	forma	de	i-cu'	i-ta'n-wa-jat	
B.3-do/make-REF-A.COMPL	one	form	of	3.POSS-hand	3.POSS-foot-DIM-PL	

icópac.
i-copac
3.POSS-head

He made her hands, her feet, her head.

Noah:151
Bueno, nu'pújun nú'tsic iguiyác.
bueno nu'pujun nu'tsic igui-yac-Ø
well all complete C.3.4-place-B.INCOMPL
Well, he made everything completely.
Noah:152
Chúuchiu igui-acyó'y.
Ø-chuuchi-u igui-ac-yo'y-Ø
A.3-begin-A.COMPL C.3.4-CAUS-walk/go-B.INCOMPL
He started her walking.
Noah:153.1
Entonce iguinúm Dios,
entonce igui-num-Ø Dios
then C.3.4-say-B.INCOMPL God
Then God said,
Noah:153.2
"Bueno po tugumó'ganu ayé to'chwáy.
bueno po tugum-o'c-anu aye to'ch-way
well but alone-AUG-PFV2 DEM.MED girl-DIM
"Well, the little girl is all alone.
Noah:154
Yo creo que caserviátáj."
yo creo que Ø-ca-serviat-aj
I I.believe that A.3-NEG-be.of.use-A.IRR
I think that won't do."
Noah:155
Entonces iguinujm Dios, "Bueno nawatcáj tu'c
entonces igui-num-j Dios bueno na-wat-ca-aj tu'c
then C.3.4-say-B.COMPL God well B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.IRR one

qui'chwáy."
qui'ch-way
boy-DIM
Then God said, "Well, we will make a little boy."
Noah:156
Pues, chúuchiatu' iguiwátca.
pues chuuchi=atu' igui-wat-ca-Ø
well begin=again C.3.4-do/make--PL-B.INCOMPL
Well, he began to create again.
Noah:157
Iguipújca tu'c naaẅáy.
igui-puc-ja-Ø tu'c naaẅ-way
C.3.4-take-REF-B.INCOMPL one earth-DIM
He took some earth.
Noah:158
Entonce, iformát ayé qui'chwáy
entonce i-format-Ø aye qui'ch-way
then B.3-form-B.INCOMPL DEM.MED boy-DIM
Then the boy was formed.

Noah:159
Entonce, i-acchúuchiu igui-acyó'yga.
entonce i-ac-chuuchi-u igui-ac-yo'y-ca-Ø
then B.3-CAUS-begin-A.COMPL C.3.4-CAUS-walk/go-PL-B.INCOMPL
Then he caused him to start walking.
Noah:160
Bueno, ítwama' mechc.
bueno Ø-it-w=ama' mechc
well A.3-exist-A.COMPL=DEFV two
Well, there were two [people].
Noah:161
"Jínap, yam na-aguépcanup mechc.
jinap yam na-aguep-ca-nu-p mechc
now PROX B.1.INCL-have-PL-PFV2-A.INCOMPL two
"Now, here we have two [people].
Noah:162
Jínap, nanʉšcájatu' jatú'c nʉ'jcópac."
jinap na-nʉš-ca-j=atu' jatu'c nʉ'jcopac
now A.1.INCL-go-PL-A.IRR=again another village
Now, we will go to another village."
Noah:163
Cóygau jatú'c nʉ'jcópac.
Ø-coy-ca-u jatu'c nʉ'jcopac
A.3-arrive-PL-A.COMPL another village
They arrived at another city.
Noah:164
Iwátcajau mechc.
i-wat-ca-ja-u mechc
B.3-do/make-PL-REF-A.COMPL two
They made two more [people].
Noah:165
Inʉ́mp, "Pa we'n, i-ít jáyuama'.
i-nʉm-p pa we'n i-it-Ø jayu=ama'
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL so.that in.that.manner B.3-exist-B.INCOMPL man=DEFV
[God] said, "In that way, there will be more people."
Noah:166
"Po tantu," inʉ́mp, "tʉntugumó'gu.
Po tantu i-nʉm-p tʉn-tugum-o'c-u
like.it.is B.3-say-A.INCOMPL B.1EXCL.3-alone-AUG-A.COMPL
"As it is," {the people] said, "We're all alone.
Noah:167
Tʉga-oyqué'ïcapéy."
tʉ-ga-oy-que'ï-ca-p=ey
1.EXCL-NEG-good-appear-PL-A.INCOMPL=also
We don't appear well, either."

Noah:168

Inúmp,	"Mit	ti	ištógoyp?"
i-nʉm-p	mit	ti	iš-togoy-p
B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	with/and	what	C.2.3-lack-A.INCOMPL

[God] said, "And what do you lack?"

Noah:169.1

"Pos,	naštógoygapatu'		jatú'c	cáayu,
pos	naš-togoy-ca-p = atu'		jatu'c	caayu
well	C.1INCL.3-lack-PL-A.INCOMPL=again		another	rooster

[The people said,] "Well, we lack another rooster

Noah:169.2

porque	we'n	itp	pʉn	iyácpay
porque	we'n	Ø-it-p	pʉn	i-yac-p = ay
because	in.that.manner	A.3-exist-A.INCOMPL	who/someone	B.3-place-A.INCOMPL=PFV1

hora."
hora
hour/time

because then there will be someone giving the hour."

Noah:170

"Naformátcájama'		jatú'c	cáayu."
na-format-ca-aj = ama'		jatu'c	caayu
A.1.INCL-form-PL-A.IRR=DEFV		another	rooster

"We will form another rooster."

Noah:171

Entonce,	ayé	cáayu	iguiwátcawu	ináašéy.
entonce	aye	caayu	igui-wat-ca-wu	i-naaš = ey
then	DEM.MED	rooster	C.3.4-do/make-PL-A.COMPL	B.3-earth=also

Then they made the rooster from their dirt, too.

Noah:172

Entonce,	iguiwátca	quéegan.
entonce	igui-wat-ca-Ø	quéegan
then	C.3.4-do/make-PL-B.INCOMPL	wing

Then they made its wings.

Noah:173.1

Iguiwátca		nu'pʉjʉn	ipʉ́cwájat,
igui-wat-ca-Ø		nu'pʉjʉn	i-pʉc-wa-jat
C.3.4-do/make-PL-B.INCOMPL		all	3.POSS-feather-DIM-PL

When they had made all its feathers,

Noah:173.2

entonce,	igui-ajcú'tca		pa	yucm.
entonce	igui-ac-cu't-ca-Ø		pa	yucm
then	C.3.4-CAUS-rise-PL-B.INCOMPL		so.that	high

then they made it go up high.

Noah:174

Entonce,	igui-íš		ni'c	óyap
entonce	igui-iš-Ø		ni'c	Ø-oya-p
then	C.3.4-see;PST-B.INCOMPL		COMPLZ	A.3-be.able.to-A.INCOMPL

iqué'c.
i-que'c-Ø
B.3-fly-B.INCOMPL
Then, he saw that it could fly,

Noah:175

"Entonce, ítnupama' píyujat.
entonce it-nu-p=ama' piyu-jat
then exist-PFV2-A.INCOMPL=DEFV hen-PL
{God said,} "Now there are hens.

Noah:176

Bueno, ítnup píyu pa išmoygáj avisu.
bueno it-nu-p piyu pa iš-moy-ca-aj avisu
well exist-PFV2-A.INCOMPL hen so.that C.2.3-give/hit-PL-A.IRR notice
Well, there are now hens to give you notice of the hour.

Noah:177

Ayéyu imunʉšámpay hora."
aye-yu i-munʉš-am-p=ay hora
DEM.MED-??? B.3-take-A.IRR-A.INCOMPL=PFV1 hour/time
They will give the hour."

Noah:178

Jínap, ti jatú'c išṯógoygap?"
jinap ti jatu'c iš-togoy-ca-p
now what another C.2.3-lack-PL-A.INCOMPL
Now, what else do you lack?"

Noah:179

"Pues, basta con cáayuwáy.
pues basta con caayu-way
well enough with rooster-DIM
[They responded,] "Well, it is enough with a rooster.

Noah:180

Claru ayé iyácpay avisu pa nu'pʉ́jʉn."
claru aye i-yac-p=ay avisu pa nu'pʉjʉn
clear DEM.MED B.3-place-A.INCOMPL=PFV1 notice for all
It is clear he will give notice to everyone."

Noah:181

"Siguiátp tʉštuyo'yga mundu.
Ø-siguiat-p tʉš-tuyo'y-ca-Ø mundu
A.3-continue-A.INCOMPL C.1EXCL.3.-travel-PL-B.INCOMPL world
[God said,] "I will continue to travel the world.

Noah:182

Jínap ítnup yam mechc.
jinap Ø-it-nu-p yam mechc
now A.3-exist-PFV2-A.INCOMPL PROX two
Now there are two [people] here.

Noah:183

Tʉnúšcap tal parte.
tʉ-núš-ca-p tal parte
1.EXCL-go-PL-A.INCOMPL another place
We are going to another place.

Noah:184

Nawatcáj	jaméchc,	porque	mechc,"	inʉ́mp,	
na-wat-ca-aj	ja-mechc	porque	mechc	i-nʉm-p	
B.1.INCL-do/make-PL-A.IRR	another-two	because	two	B.3-say-A.INCOMPL	

"nayájcawá'n	cada	nʉ'jcópac	mechc	jáyau,	tu'c	tó'ïay	mit	tu'c
na-yac-ca-wa'n	cada	nʉ'jcopac	mechc	jayau	tu'c	to'ïay	mit	tu'c
A.1.INCL-place-PL-B.IRR	each	village	two	man	one	wife	with/and	one

quí'chay,	ni'c	mínway	tiempo	iformátnu
qui'chay	ni'c	Ø-min-w=ay	tiempo	i-format-nu-Ø
man	COMPLZ	A.3-come-A.COMPL=PFV1	time	B.3-form-PFV2-B.INCOMPL

mundo."
mundo
world

We will make another two [people], because two," he said, "we will put in each city two people: one woman and one man, because the time has come for the world to be formed

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